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CONTENTS

FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF THEOLOGY

A Partial Reconstruction of the Gospel
According to the Hebrews

Flavien Parker

Volume VI



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C O N T E N T S

FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF THEOLOGY

A Partial Reconstruction of the Gospel
According to the Hebrews

Pierson Parker

A PARTIAL RECONSTRUCTION OF THE GOSPEL
ACCORDING TO THE HEBREWS

by

Pierson Parker,

A. B., University of California, 1927,
A. M., Pacific School of Religion, 1933.

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FOREWORD.

This thesis is a sequel to an earlier study entitled Ancient Citations of the Gospel according to the Hebrews: A Critical Study . . . Thesis submitted . . . for the Degree of Master of Arts . . . Pacific School of Religion, 1933. Indeed, it was originally planned to issue the entire work as a single thesis. In order, therefore, for a proper understanding of the present investigation, it will be necessary to have the previous study in hand.

The Gospel according to the Hebrews is without doubt the most important extracanonical Gospel of which we have any knowledge. It influenced the early Christians as did no other outside the canonical Four. Many quotations from it are found in writings of the Church fathers. That there has apparently been no formal attempt heretofore to reconstruct the Gospel from these fragments is, consequently, a fact occasioning some surprise.

Our primary task has been to effect such a restoration. The results of this effort are exhibited in the last chapter of this book. But a second and, it is believed, no less important result of the undertaking has been the evolving of an hypothesis as to the relationship between the Hebrew Gospel and the New Testament Gospels. This theory resulted from the search for criteria whereby to

identify passages from the Hebrew Gospel appearing in ancient literature, when their source is not given. In its bearing on the Synoptic Problem, this secondary result should be of wider import than is the primary one.

In these pages will be found only one significant departure from the view-point of the previous thesis. Therein (chapter i) it was held that the Gospel of the Ebionites comprised an heretical recension of the Gospel according to the Hebrews. It is now felt that this word suggests a closer relationship between these two Gospels than was actually the case. It is believed that Ebionites did draw upon Hebrews very heavily; but the incorporation in the former of other materials has likewise been heavy, so that the word "recension" hardly fits the facts. The change of view-point, however, concerns only the degree of influence of Hebrews upon Ebionites, and does not much affect the general results to be obtained.

It is unfortunate that hitherto there has been no extensive, up-to-date discussion of the Gospel according to the Hebrews, in English. Indeed, so far as this writer is aware, no work in any language has gathered together all the materials considered in the following pages. The best studies in English are those of E. B. Nicholson, The Gospel according to the Hebrews, London, 1879; H. G. Evelyn White, in his Introduction to The Sayings of Jesus from Oxyrhynchus, Cambridge University Press, 1920; and A. F. Findlay,

Byways in Early Christian Literature, Edinburgh, Clark, 1923, pp. 33-58. The first of these has become out-of-date with the discovery by Alfred Schmidtke of some new fragments of the Gospel. Findlay's brief study has been reviewed, and most of his contentions rejected, in the Appendix to the present book. The discussion by Evelyn White has been invaluable throughout our entire investigation.

Further acknowledgments of indebtedness would extend this foreword beyond all reasonable limits. A complete bibliography will be found at the end of the thesis.

PIERSON PARKER.

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A PARTIAL RECONSTRUCTION OF THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO THE HEBREWS.

I. RELATION TO THE CANONICAL GOSPELS.

It is not the primary task of this thesis to examine the Gospel according to the Hebrews from the standpoint of historical and literary criticism. The problem is rather to rebuild the Gospel from the surviving fragments, so that questions of date, authorship, primitivity, historical and religious value, etc., are outside our field.

Nevertheless, it is desirable to preface the study with an examination of the relationships between the Hebrew Gospel and those of the New Testament. Such examination is prerequisite to a proper evaluation of a large number of fragments which, unlike those considered in the previous thesis, are not assigned to a Secundum Hebraeos by those who cite them. If in the pursuit of the study note is made of matters bearing on the higher criticism of the Gospel, it will be so much to the good.

The present chapter has in view two projects: to compare and contrast GH¹ with the canonical Gospels, as to the content of parallel passages; and to note linguistic affinities which may be of importance, in cases where there is no parallelism of subject-matter. Many points on this line have been remarked in the previous study. Some of these must be reviewed.

Before proceeding to the study, it is necessary to delimit two documents which do not appear in the New Testament in their original forms, viz., Q, the common source or sources of Matthew and Luke, and L, the source or sources of material peculiar to the Third Gospel. These documents should be rigidly defined. We may allot to Q only such non-Markan material as is actually parallel in the First and Third Gospels. The document is thus defined as follows:

(Mt. ii.1 = Lk. i.5a); (Mt. i.21 = Lk. i.31);
 (Mt. iii.5b = Lk. iii.3a); Mt. iii.7-10 = Lk. iii.7-9;
 Mt. iii.11b-12 = Lk. iii.16b-17; Mt. iv.1-11 = Lk. iv.1-13;
 (Mt. v.1, viii.1 = Lk. vi.17); Mt. v.2-12 = Lk. vi.20-23;
 Mt. v.39-48 = Lk. vi.27-36; Mt. vii.1-2 = Lk. vi.37-38;
 Mt. xv.14 = Lk. vi.39; Mt. x.24-25 = Lk. vi.40; Mt. vii.3-5 =
 Lk. vi.41-42; Mt. vii.16-20 = Lk. vi.43-44; Mt. xii.34-35 =
 Lk. vi.45; Mt. vii.21 = Lk. vi.46; Mt. vii.24-27 = Lk. vi.47-49;
 Mt. viii.5-10, 13 = Lk. vii.1-10; Mt. xi.2-3 = Lk. vii.18-19;
 Mt. xi.4-11 = Lk. vii.22-28; Mt. xxi.31-32 = Lk. vii.29-30;
 Mt. xi.16-19 = Lk. vii.31-35; Mt. x.7-8 = Lk. ix.2;
 Mt. viii.19-22 = Lk. ix.57-60; Mt. ix.37-38 = Lk. x.2; Mt. x.16 =
 Lk. x.3; Mt. x.7-14 = Lk. x.4-11; Mt. x.15, 24 = Lk. x.12;
 Mt. xi.21-23 = Lk. x.13-15; Mt. x.40 = Lk. x.16; Mt. xi.25-27 =
 Lk. x.21-22; Mt. xiii.16-17 = Lk. x.23-24; Mt. vi.9-13 =
 Lk. xi.2-4; Mt. vii.7-11 = Lk. xi.9-13; Mt. xii.22-24 =
 Lk. xi.14-15; Mt. xii.38 = Lk. xi.16; Mt. xii.25-30 =
 Lk. xi.17-23; Mt. xii.43-45 = Lk. xi.24-26; Mt. xii.39-42 =
 Lk. xi.29-32; Mt. v.15 = Lk. xi.33; Mt. vi.22-23 = Lk. xi.34-35;
 Mt. xxiii.25-26 = Lk. xi.39-40; Mt. xxiii.23-24 = Lk. xi.42;
 Mt. xxiii.5-7 = Lk. xi.43; Mt. xxiii.27 = Lk. xi.44; Mt. xxiii.4
 = Lk. xi.46; Mt. xxiii.29-31 = Lk. xi.47-48; Mt. xxiii.34-36 =
 Lk. xi.49-51; Mt. xxiii.13 = Lk. xi.52; Mt. xvi.11 = Lk. xii.1;
 Mt. x.26-33 = Lk. xii.2-9; Mt. xii.32 = Lk. xii.10; Mt. x.19-20
 = Lk. xii.11-12; Mt. vi.25-34 = Lk. xii.22-32; Mt. vi.19-21 =
 Lk. xii.33-34; Mt. xxv.1-10 = Lk. xii.35-38; Mt. xxiv.43-51 =
 Lk. xii.39-46; Mt. x.34-36 = Lk. xii.51-53; Mt. xvi.2-3 =
 Lk. xii.54-56; Mt. v.25-26 = Lk. xii.58-59; Mt. xiii.31-33 =
 Lk. xiii.18-21; Mt. vii.13-14 = Lk. xiii.24; Mt. xxv.11-12 =
 Lk. xiii.25; Mt. vii.22-23 = Lk. xiii.26-27; Mt. viii.11-12 =
 Lk. xiii.28-29; Mt. xx.16 = Lk. xiii.30; Mt. xxiii.37-39 =
 Lk. xiii.34-35; Mt. xii.11-12 = Lk. xiv.5; Mt. xiii.2-10 =
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 Lk. xiv.34-35; Mt. xviii.12-14 = Lk. xv.4-7; Mt. vi.24 =
 Lk. xvi.13; Mt. xi.12-13 = Lk. xvi.16; Mt. v.18 = Lk. xvi.17;
 Mt. v.32 = Lk. xvi.18; Mt. xviii.6-7 = Lk. xvii.1-2;
 Mt. xviii.15 = Lk. xvii.3; Mt. xviii.21-22 = Lk. xvii.4;
 Mt. xvii.20 = Lk. xvii.6; Mt. xxiv.26-27 = Lk. xvii.23-24;

Mt. xxiv.37-39a = Lk. xvii.26-27; Mt. xxiv.39b = Lk. xvii.30;
 Mt. x.39 = Lk. xvii.33; Mt. xxiv.40-41 = Lk. xvii.34-35;
 Mt. xxiv.28 = Lk. xvii.37; Mt. xxv.14-30 = Lk. xix.12-27;
 Mt. xxi.44 = Lk. xx.18; (Mt. xxviii.19-20 = Lk. xxiv.47-49).

In this list passages placed in parentheses, while parallel in the two Gospels, are not ordinarily assigned to Q.

The document L is defined as those portions of Luke which have no parallels in Matthew or Mark. Luke's infancy narratives are included, though they are probably from a different source from that for the ministry narratives:

Lk. i.5b-30, 32-80; ii.1-52; iii.1-2, 5-6, 10-16, 18-20, 23-38; iv.14b-30; v.1-11, 39; vi.24-26; vii.20-21, 36-50; viii.1-3; ix.31-32, 43a, 52-56, 60b-62; x.1, 17-20, 25-42; xi.1, 5-8, 27-28, 36-38, 45, 53-54; xii.1, 13-21, 47-50, 57; xiii.1-17, 22-23, 31-33; xiv.1-4, 6-15, 25, 28-33; xv.1-3, 8-32; xvi.1-12, 14-15, 19-31; xvii.5, 7-22, 28-29, 32, 37a; xviii.1-14, 31b, 34, 43b; xix.1-11, 28, 38-46; xxi.18, 21b-22, 24, 34-36, 38; xxii.14-16, 19-21, 23-41, 43-45, 48-51, 63-68, 70; xxiii.1-2, 4-21, 23-24, 27-32, 34, 36-37, 39-43, 47-48, 50, 54-55; xxiv.4-5, 7-8, 10-53.

Parts of Matthew which are peculiar to that Gospel may be designated as M, though it is not supposed that all such material is from a single, unique source. In particular, it is probable that Matthew's infancy narratives are not from the same source or sources as his peculiar ministry material.

Three other New Testament sources will be referred to by symbol in the following pages: Mk., the Gospel of Mark; J, the Fourth Gospel; and P, comprising all gospel material found in writings attributed to Paul.

Each GH fragment will be compared with its New Testament parallels, where these exist. Then the fragment will be allocated to one or other of the sources, Q, L, M, Mk., J, P. By this it will not be meant that the canonical

works were actually sources of GH tradition, but simply that a particular GH passage is closer to a given canonical source than to any other.

It is well at the outset to divorce from the mind any presupposition as to the relationship between GH and canonical Matthew. It is true, as was discovered in the previous study², that some fathers identified GH as the Hebrew original of Matthew. Moreover, in a number of cases the text of Matthew has had to be used in restoring the GH context. This was necessary when the ancient citer was comparing these two Gospels, or where on other grounds it was apparent that GH was closer to the First Gospel than to any other canonical book. But it must be recalled that not one single case exists where the Jewish users of GH ascribed their Gospel to the apostle Matthew, or gave it his name. Every such ascription comes from the Church fathers. It is of course virtually certain that in external, mechanical arrangement, GH resembled Matthew. But this means no more, after all, than that GH had a similar beginning to that of the First Gospel, and that its contents were arranged more or less topically, rather than chronologically.

The individual fragments may now be considered in order³.

1. Visit of the Magi. (Citations, pp. 29ff.).

Nothing need be added to what was said in the previous study. The infancy sections of Matthew are probably from an independent source. Allocation, (M), that is, possibly M.

2. Flight into Egypt, and Settlement at Nazareth.

(Citations, pp. 29ff.). Entirely Matthean, except for a slight approach to Luke in omitting the phrase, "a city called". Allocation, (M), (L).

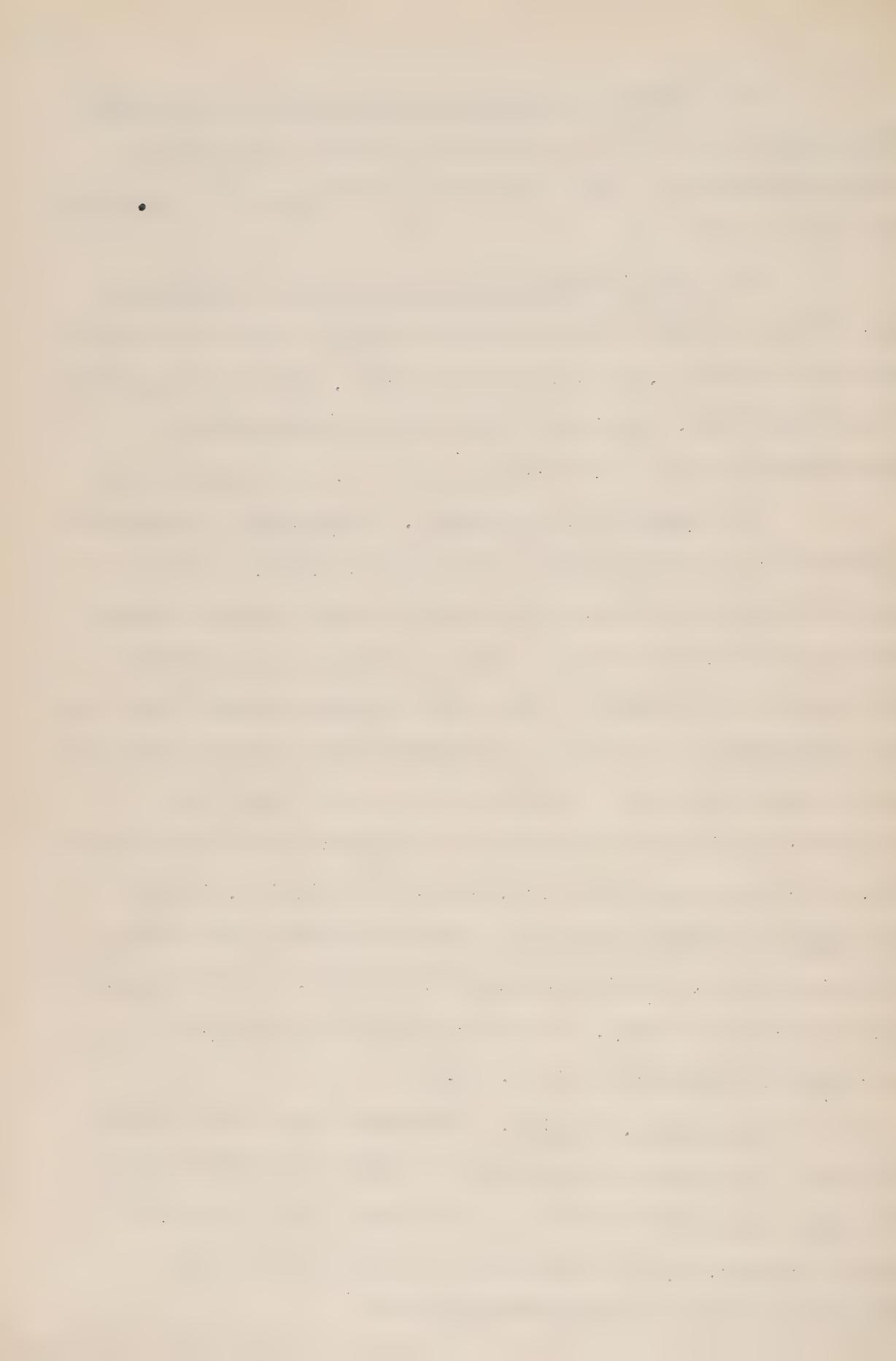
3. Jesus' Family Urge His Baptism. (Citations,

pp. 38ff.). There is no canonical parallel for most of this. For the last part, on the fire in Jordan, there is a parallel in Matthew only, and in but two textual authorities, Sangermanensis and the Curetonian Syriac. Allocation, (M).

4. Descent of the Spirit. (Citations, pp. 41ff.).

Commenting on this passage, Evelyn White says⁴, "It is evident that the writer is thinking of the dove and the ark (Genesis viii.9); that is, that the passage is a product of the age of reflection." The Genesis passage reads: Quae cum non invenisset columba] ubi requiesceret pes eius, reversa est ad eum in arcam. It contains the word "rest", but otherwise there seems to be little connection between it and GH. For the remarkable fact, unnoticed by White, is that GH fails to mention the dove, therein differing from both Genesis and all the New Testament parallels. As was suggested in the previous study, it is more probable that the GH account is reminiscent of Is. xi.2.

Requievit, requies. The Synoptists have nothing similar. Matthew reads: venientem super se; Mark: manentem in ipso; Luke: descendit . . . in ipsum. Jn. 1.32 is a little closer: Quia vidi Spiritum descendentem quasi columbam de caelo, et mansit super eum.



Primogenitus. This suggests Jn. i.18: unigenitus Filius, though the sense is not exactly the same. Heb. i.6 is closer: Et cum iterum introducit primogenitum in orbem terrae, dicit . . . etc. There is a possible reminiscence of Ps. lxxxix.27: Et ego primogenitum ponam illum excelsum prae legibus terrae, which would thus be conceived in a messianic sense, entirely after the manner of GH. It seems quite likely, however, that the entire narrative is an expansion of a genuine tradition, preserved to us in D at Lk. iii.22. There the Voice speaks in the words of Ps. ii.7: Filius meus es tu, ego hodie genui te. Cp. Heb. i.7. It is possible that all these Old Testament passages influenced GH.

It is obvious that the GH narrative is largely independent of Mark, which is the source of the accounts in Matthew and Luke. GH approaches the general practice of Matthew in its use of the Old Testament, though this was also, probably, the practice of all early Christians. The GH words of the voice suggest Luke. There may be a Johannine tendency (no more than that) in the word "first-begotten". The account in GH is independent. Allocation, (M), (L), (J).

5. Jesus Taken to Mount Tabor. (Citations, pp. 44ff.).

The context of the GH incident is unknown. Some suppose that it is part of the Temptation story. Arguments in favor of this are: (1) the words "mother" and "Holy Spirit" recall the GH account of the Baptism, which immediately precedes the Temptation in Mt.-Mk.-Lk.; (2) GH is known to have contained at least part of the Temptation narrative, viz., the Jerusalem Temple Temptation; (3) immediately before their accounts of

the Temptation, all the Synoptists have Jesus impelled into the wilderness by the Spirit; (4) the Vision of the Nations narrative of Matthew is located on a mountain: Luke says simply that Jesus was taken "up", not telling whither. Against assigning the incident to the Temptation are the facts, (1) that in Mt.-Lk. it is the Devil, not the Holy Spirit, who takes Jesus up to the mountain; (2) that the GH saying is highly transcendental, whereas the GH account of the Jerusalem Temple Temptation is less transcendental than its canonical parallels; (3) that the use of "in" instead of "into" in the GH Jerusalem Temple Temptation may indicate that the latter was the only temptation recorded in this Gospel⁵.

Others have thought that the saying refers to the Transfiguration. If so, the mention of the Holy Spirit may connect with the word $\pi\rho\sigma\epsilon\upsilon\chi\alpha\rho\epsilon\iota$ of Lk. ix.28. But it is Luke's habit to represent Jesus as praying, when there is no authority for it in his source. Luke's Transfiguration story is largely Markan, with the exception of ix.31-32.

If the saying refers to the Temptation, the GH incident was in four respects closer to Matthew than to Luke: (1) Matthew says Jesus was taken into the wilderness by the Spirit, while Luke says he went to the wilderness in the Spirit; (2) in the Vision of Nations, as has been noted, Matthew says Jesus was taken to "an exceeding high mountain," while Luke says he was taken "up"; (3) Mt. iv.8 has $\pi\rho\sigma\lambda\alpha\mu\beta\acute{\iota}\nu\epsilon\iota$ (GH $\xi\lambda\alpha\beta\epsilon$), whereas Lk. iv.5 reads $\dot{\iota}\nu\alpha\chi\alpha\gamma\tilde{\omega}\nu$; (4) in GH, the Vision of the Nations could hardly have been

the middle temptation, as in Luke, but must have been either first, or last as in Matthew, since what we have is a statement from Jesus, not a narrative of the event.

No definite allocation of the fragment can be made. If it refers to the Transfiguration, the allocation is (Mk.) or (L); if to the Temptation, it is (M) or (Q).

6. On Grieving the Spirit of One's Brother.

(Citations, p. 47). There may be a slight Johannine tendency in the saying, though it is quite in accord with Mt. v.22-23 and xviii.6-7, both of which belong to Q. There is no verbal similarity with any canonical Gospel. Allocation, (Q).

7. On Beholding One's Brother With Love.

(Citations, p. 48). The case is identical with that of fragment 6. Allocation, (Q).

8. The Lord's Prayer. (Citations, p. 48).

The GH passage was apparently like Matthew, except that the phrase "of the morrow" replaced *ἐπεύχεται*. Allocation, Q.

9. The Man With a Withered Arm. (Citations,

pp. 49ff.). The canonical account is found in Mk. iii.1-6, which is usually taken to be the source for the parallels in Mt. xii.9-14 and Lk. vi.6-11. In the previous study, grounds were shown for supposing that Luke conflated Mark's narrative with a variant account of the same event, supposed to be from L. On this basis, two alternative restorations of the GH passage were offered.

With either restoration, GH differs from all canonical parallels in introducing the invalid's own request for healing, including the man's self-description as a

mason, and the circumstance that he addresses Jesus by name.

In the alternative restoration the question of Mt. xii.11 was retained, rather than that of Mk. iii.4. The double condition that Luke used a non-Markan source in his account and that Matthew introduces into the story a non-Markan saying renders it just possible that Luke's peculiar variants came from Q, not L.

These several conditions make it unlikely that a Markan source was used by the GH evangelist. Allocation, L; (Q), (Mk.).

10. "Seventy Times Seven." (Citations, pp. 52f.). For a proper discussion of this passage, it is necessary to quote the Matthean and Lukan parallels. Underlined words in these parallels are found also in GH.

Mt. xviii.21-22: Tunc accedens Petrus ad eum, dixit, Domine, quotiens peccabit in me frater meus et dimittam ei? usque septies? Dicit illi Iesus: Non dico tibi usque septies, sed usque septuagies septies.

Lk. xvii.3-4: Si peccaverit frater tuus, increpa illum: et si paenitentiam egerit, dimitte illi. Et si septies in die peccaverit in te, et septies in die conversus fuerit ad te, dicens, Paenitet me: dimitte illi.

GH has four words in common with both evangelists: peccare (the GH tense is Lukan), frater, et, septies. It has eight words in common with Luke alone: si, tuus, tibi (Luke, te), in die, septies in die. It has seven words in common with Matthew alone: dixit, dixit (Matthew, dicit), dico tibi usque septuagies septies. It further agrees with Luke in putting the original statement into the mouth of Jesus. And it agrees with Matthew in putting a question into the mouth of Peter, who does not appear in Luke.

The agreements are, therefore, about equally distributed.⁶ The Matthew-Luke passages appear in the definition of Q at the beginning of this chapter. Allocation, Q.

11. The Triumphal Entry. (Citations, p. 54). The only evidence for the text has led to a restoration on the basis of Matthew. Both Matthew and Luke follow Mk. xi.1-11 with considerable fidelity in this narrative. The only important variant is in Matthew, who at xxi.5 quotes from prophecy. His quotation leads him to substitute two asses for the one of Mark. Both the number two and the use of prophecy are characteristics common to Matthew and GH. The Matthean result in this case is absurd, however, and there is no evidence that it was in GH. Allocation, Mk.

12. Cleansing of the Temple. (Citations, p. 55). This is one of the few incidents narrated in all four canonical Gospels. It is only highly probable that the story appeared in GH. If so, GH differed in detail from every canonical account. Allocation, (Mk.), (J).

13. Confusion Leads to Death and to Life. (Citations, p. 56). There is no close canonical parallel, and the evidence for the passage belonging to GH is small. Allocation to a canonical parallel will not be hazarded.

14. "Zacharias, Son of Joiadah." (Citations, pp. 56 f.). The reconstruction is, except for the word Joiadah, identical with Mt. xxiii.34-35. Allocation, Q.

15. It was concluded that this fragment probably

does not belong in GH. The only canonical parallel, Mt. xxvii.9b-10, is from M.

16. Barrabban. (Citations, pp. 58ff.). This part of the trial is recounted in all four canonical Gospels. Verbally, the four differ widely from each other, as is to be expected: the closing hours of Jesus' life would be so familiar to an evangelist that a written source would be less depended upon here than in the central portions of his book. Hence the value of discussion of sources for the trial narratives is limited. However, Luke seems to be more independent of Mark than is Matthew, and he may have used a separate written source. The bracketed words, *qui propter seditionem et homicidium erat condemnatus*, are not in Matthew, but are paralleled in both Luke and Mark.

If the reconstruction is correct, the GH narrative is much more sardonic than any canonical account. It may be independent. Allocation, (Mk.).

17. The Lintel of the Temple Broken. (Citations, pp. 60f.). The Rending of the Veil is told in Mt. xxvii.51 and Mk. xv.38. The GH passage seems to be independent, particularly if 17b was actually included. The latter would make GH dependent upon Is. vi.4 rather than any New Testament tradition. Allocation, (Mk.).

18, 19. Appearances to James, and to Peter and Others. (Citations, pp. 61ff.). These post-Resurrectional appearances were very fully discussed in the previous study.

These passages narrate three distinct incidents:

(1) The oath of James, which was related to the declaration of Jesus that he would not drink again until he did so in the coming Kingdom,⁷ although Evelyn White connects it with the vow of the fanatics who sought to kill Paul.⁸ (2) The appearance to James, the details of which were connected with the events of the Last Supper, White relating it to the Emmaus appearance.⁹ (3) The appearance to Peter and his companions, which was connected with Mt. xxviii.16ff. or 1 Cor. xv.5 or 7, though White related the incident to that of Lk. xxiv.36ff. For reasons stated in the former study, the conclusions of White are rejected.

In this connection is to be noted the Prologue to the Oxyrhynchus Sayings of Jesus, the first clause of which reads: "These are the . . . words which Jesus spake, who liveth and was seen of . . . and of Thomas." It will later be shown¹⁰ that the Oxyrhynchus Sayings are probably extracts from GH. One of the possible parallels to GH's second post-Resurrectional appearance is that of Jn. xx.19ff., where Thomas is present.

Allocation is difficult. Because of the parallels in 1 Cor. xv., we may allocate both fragments to (P). White's conclusions relate both passages to L, so that we may add the allocation (L) - possibly L.

The mention of the servant of the high priest suggests the presence in GH of an account of the Betrayal and Arrest, with the event described at Mt. xxvi.51, Mk. xiv.47, Lk. xxii.50, Jn. xviii.10. Note that in John, Simon Peter

is specifically mentioned, which would be characteristic of GH.

20. Genealogy. (Citations, pp. 76ff.). The position of this section is Matthean, but the content is Lukan. Allocation, L.

21. Annunciation to Joseph. (Citations, pp. 82ff.). No restoration of a GH passage here was attempted. The very existence of such an account in this Gospel is doubtful.

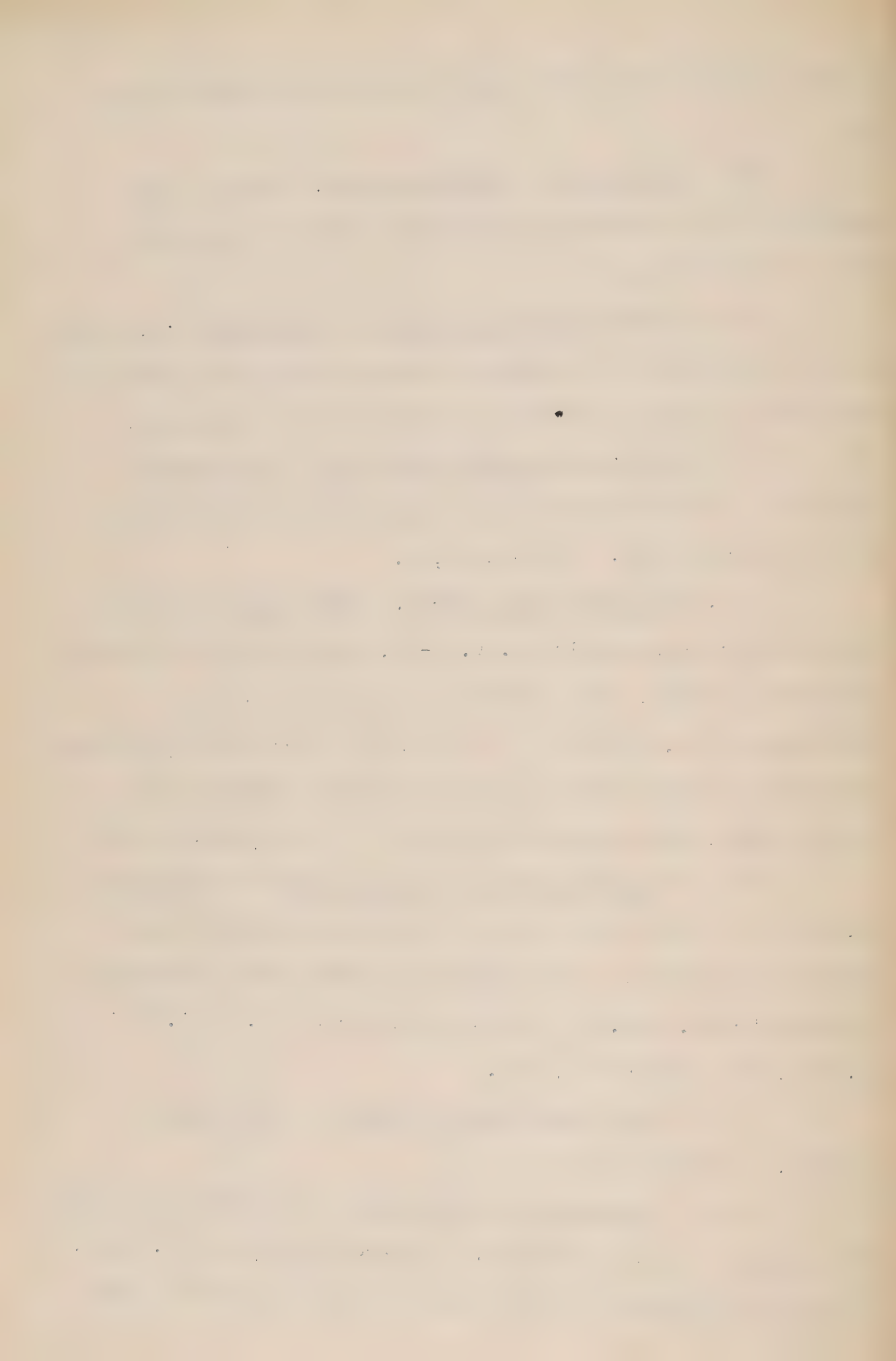
22. Jerusalem Temple Temptation. (Citations, pp. 84f.). The GH account seems more primitive than those of Matthew and Luke. Allocation, Q.

23. On Murder and Hatred. (Citations, pp. 85f.). The canonical passage is Mt. v.21-22, from which GH "differs" in omitting εἰς τὴν. The Matthean passage is not in our definition of Q, though it is included in the latter document by Moffatt, Albert Réville, Burton, Barnes, Wernle, Barth, O. Holtzmann, Roehrich and J. Weiss.¹¹ Allocation, M, (Q).

24. "Gathered with Me in My Bosom." (Citations, pp. 86ff.). The first part of the restored passage has no canonical parallel. The second part, taken from 2 Clement, is close to Mt. xxv.41, and still closer to Lk. xiii.27 = Mt. vii.23. Allocation, (Q).

25. "Wise More than Serpents." (Citations, pp. 88f.). Allocation, Q.

26. "I Choose the Good Ones." (Citations, p. 89). The saying is quite Johannine. Compare especially Jn. xiii.18: ἐγὼ οἶδα οὗς ἐξελεξιμένην· and xvii.6: ἐφανέρωσα σοι τὸ ὄνομα



τοῖς ἀνθρώποις οὕς ἐδούκας μοι ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου· τοὶ ἦσαν καὶ ἐμοὶ αὐτοὺς ἐδούκας. Eusebius' context, "He taught the cause of the division of the souls, which would happen in the houses," is difficult, but seems to be Synoptic. Compare Mt. x.35ff.: ἦλθον γὰρ διχάσαι ἄνθρωπον κατὰ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ . . . καὶ ἐχθροὶ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου οἱ οἰκικοὶ αὐτοῦ. The latter is in Matthew's narrative of the Mission of the Twelve. Allocation, (Q), (J).

27. "He that Wondereth Shall Reign." (Citations, pp. 89ff.). Two Matthean passages are suggested: vi.33, "Seek ye first his kingdom and his righteousness," and vii.7, "Seek, and ye shall find." Others (e.g., Hilgenfeld, Nicholson) would connect the saying with the discourse which follows the question from John the Baptist, Mt. xi.6,8. All of these parallels are in Q, but the GH passage is different from any of them. Allocation, (Q).

28. "The Kingdom is Ravished." (Citations, p. 91). The reconstruction is almost identical with Mt. xi.12-13. Allocation, Q.

29. A Prayer of Jesus. (Citations, pp. 91f.). Again, only a slight verbal difference from canonical Mt. xi.25-27. Allocation, Q.

30. Demand for a Sign. (Citations, pp. 92f.). The Matthean parallels are xii.40b and xvi.2, against which the marginal notes are placed. The second of these is parallel to Lk. xii.54 (cf. Mk. viii.12), so that one, perhaps both, of them belongs to Q.¹² However, the double telling of

the story by Matthew suggests that he may have had two sources, both of which contained the incident. The Markan passage contains no exposition of the sign, while the 'louxiōv notation indicates that some such exposition was found in GH. It is possible that Mt. xii.40b was the correct place, and xvi.2 an incorrect place, for the marginal note, whence the allocation would be Q. At all events, the fact that GH contains an element not paralleled in Mark, but paralleled by Luke and once by Matthew, makes it probable that the GH passage is non-Markan. Allocation, (Q).

31. "Korban." (Citations, pp. 93f.). GH differs widely from all the New Testament parallels. In the presence of this single word, korban, it is closest to Mark. Allocation, (Mk.).

32. "Sent to the Lost Sheep of Israel." (Citations, pp. 94f.). In the New Testament, the saying is found only in Matthew. Allocation, M.

33. Peter's Confession. (Citations, pp. 95f.). Allocation, Mk.

34. The Other Rich Man. (Citations, pp. 96ff.). The narrative differs greatly from those of the New Testament. It is desirable to exhibit the question of the second rich man, and the first part of Jesus' reply, in parallel with the accounts of the Synoptists.

<u>GH</u>	<u>Mt. xix.16ff.</u>	<u>Mk. x.17ff.</u>	<u>Lk.xviii.18ff.</u>
Dixit ad eum alter divitum	Et ecce unus accedens ait illi	Quidam genu flexo roga- bat <u>eum</u>	Et interroga- vit <u>eum</u> qui- dam princeps, dicens

GH	Mt.	Mk.	Lk.
Magister quid bonum fac- iens vivam?	<u>Magister bone</u> <u>quid boni fac-</u> <u>iam ut habe-</u> <u>am vitam ae-</u> <u>ternam?</u>	<u>Magister bone</u> <u>quid faciam</u> <u>ut vitam ae-</u> <u>ternam per-</u> <u>cipiam?</u>	<u>Magister bone</u> <u>quid faciens</u> <u>vitam aeternam</u> <u>possidebo?</u>
Dixit ei	Qui <u>dixit ei</u>	Iesus autem <u>dixit ei</u>	<u>Dixit autem ei</u> Iesus
Homo	. . . Si au- tem vis ad vitam ingre- di, serva mandata.	. . . Prae- cepta nosti.	. . . Mandata nosti.
leges et pro- phetas fac.	. . . Dicit illi adules- cens,	. . . Et ille respondens <u>ait,</u>	. . . Qui <u>ait,</u>
Respondit ad eum,	Omnia haec custodivi: quid adhuc mihi deest?	Magister, haec omnia observavi a iuventute mea.	Haec omnia custodivi a iuventute mea.
Feci.	<u>Ait illi Ie-</u> <u>sus</u> Si vis per- fectus esse, <u>vade, vende</u> <u>quae habes,</u>	. . . et <u>dix-</u> <u>it illi</u> Unum tibi de- est: <u>vade, quae-</u> <u>cumque habes</u> <u>vende</u>	. . . Iesus <u>ait ei</u> Adhuc unum ti- bi deest: <u>omnia quaecum-</u> <u>que habes,</u> <u>vende</u>
Vade, vende om- nia quae pos- sides, et divide pau- peribus	<u>et da pauper-</u> <u>ibus</u> <u>et habebis</u> thesaurum in caelo	<u>et da pauper-</u> <u>ibus</u> <u>et habebis</u> thesaurum in caelo	<u>et da pauper-</u> <u>ibus</u> <u>et habebis</u> thesaurum in caelo
et veni, seque- re me.	<u>et veni, se-</u> <u>quere me.</u>	<u>et veni, se-</u> <u>quere me.</u>	<u>et veni, se-</u> <u>quere me.</u>

Underscoring in the second, third and fourth

columns marks words had in common with GH. In general, GH is similar to the canonical passages, and in wording differs no more from any of them than they differ from one another. But there are important omissions on the part of GH. The question, "Why callest thou me good?" is included in the first, bracketed, paragraph of the restoration. But the list of Commandments is not in GH at all; the latter has

nothing similar to the words, *Unum tibi deest*, unless it be the entire following speech of Jesus'; and the words, *et thesaurum habebis in caelo*, are lacking.¹³

The next speech of Jesus' includes the words:

Ecce, multi fratres tui filii Abrahae amicti sunt stercore, morientes prae fame, et domus tua plena est bonis, et non egreditur omnino aliquid ex ea ad eos. It has been suggested¹⁴ that this verse is a reminiscence of the parable of the Rich Man and Lazarus, Lk. xvi.19ff. Compare especially the Lukan words: *Homo quidam erat dives, et induebatur purpura, et bysso: et epulabatur cotidie splendide . . . micis quae cadebant de mensa divitis . . . Pater Abraham.* Somewhat less striking are the comparisons between GH egreditur and Luke's iacebat ad ianuam eius; and GH morientes prae fama and Luke's cupiens saturari.

These similarities have led Evelyn White to assert,¹⁵ "There can be no doubt whatever that the evangelist of the Hebrews' Gospel is here elaborating his main source, Matthew, with reminiscences of the Lukan parable." White's statement is surprisingly strong for there is in fact very great doubt as to the validity of his conclusion. Thus, he takes for granted that GH was entirely a secondary work: but the conclusions of our former study¹⁶ are not favorable to such a view; if GH is secondary, the theorem stands to be proved, and cannot be taken as a premise upon which to base further conclusions. Then, Matthew is certainly not the main source of the present

narrative, nor, probably, is either Mark or Luke: whence two rich men instead of one? whence the completely different point to the story? whence the description of the reaction of the rich man, who does not go away, but stays to scratch his head? whence the introduction of Simon Peter into the incident? whence the locus of the event, not "in the way", as in all the New Testament accounts, but, apparently, while Jesus and Peter were seated somewhere? why the omission of some of the most significant of Jesus' words? These divergences are too great to be explained as mere alterations of one or other of the canonical passages. Against White's conclusion is the further fact that GH is verbally no closer to Matthew than to either of the others. Finally, the similarities between GH and the Lukan parable are in point of view, but it cannot be held that the likenesses extend beyond that. Except for the name Abraham, there is not a single word in common between the Lukan parable and this GH verse. It is much better to suppose that the GH account came from a source similar in point of view to L - a theory which accounts for all the facts - than to go to the lengths of White's conclusion, with its attendant difficulties.

The Jewishness of GH is again seen in its definition of the rich man's "brethren" as "sons of Abraham."

Allocation (Mk.); because of the possible Lukan cast to the narrative, (L).

35. A Woman Accused Before the Lord. (Citations, pp. 100ff.). Little can be added to the previous discussion.

The narrative in GH is similar but not exactly parallel to Jn. vii.53-viii.11, which is unauthentic in that Gospel.

Eusebius' words, ἐπὶ πολλαῖς ἁμαρτίαις, suggest Lk. vii.47, καὶ ἁμαρτίαι αὐτῆς καὶ πολλαί: but the latter are in the mouth of Jesus, whereas the former are from the woman's accusers. Allocation, (J).

36. Parable of the Talents. (Citations, pp. 105ff.).

The canonical parallels are Mt. xxv.14-30, Lk. xix.12-27, which belong to Q. Eusebius' words also recall the parable of the Wicked Servant, Mt. xxiv.49, ἐσθίη δὲ καὶ πίνη μετὰ τῶν μεθύοντων, from Q - though the closest parallel to the latter in Eusebius is in his own words, not those of GH.

The GH passage was also compared with the Lukan parable of the Prodigal Son: Eusebius, ἰσώτερος ἐξηκότος . . . καταργούντι τὴν ὑπαρξιν τοῦ δεσπότου μετὰ πορνῶν καὶ αὐλητριῶν. with Lk. xv.13,30, ζῶν ἰσώτερος . . . ὁ καταργὼν σου τὸν βίον μετὰ τῶν πορνῶν. Here the verbal affinities are marked, in contrast with the condition of fragment 34. But again, it is not certain how much of Eusebius' passage is direct quotation of GH, and how much is paraphrase in his own language, though it is evident that he is making but a flying allusion to the Gospel, while discussing other matters.

The Lukan atmosphere of the GH account makes the allocation Q, (L).

37. Peter's Denial. (Citations, pp. 107f.). The story appears in all four canonical Gospels. The restoration is necessarily based on Matthew, who in turn is dependent on Mark. Allocation, Mk.

38. "Father, Forgive Them." (Citations, pp. 108f.).

The only canonical parallel is at Lk. xxiii.33. Allocation, L.

39. The Watch at the Sepulchre. (Citations, p. 109).

The only canonical parallel is Mt. xxvii.62-66. Allocation, M.

It should be reiterated that, in making the foregoing allocations of the several GH passages, we have merely said that the various sections of the Hebrew Gospel are closer to the stated canonical sources than to any other canonical sources. This is not at all the same as saying that these sources were used by the author of GH. This should be borne in mind throughout the succeeding discussion.

The results of the foregoing analysis may be summarized in tabular form. In the following exhibit, the first column shows the total number of GH fragments allocated to the various canonical sources. The second column shows the total number of words in the restored texts of these fragments. In the third column is shown the per cent of all the fragments allocated to each canonical source, and in the fourth column the per cent of all the words of all the restored texts so allocated.

	<u>Fragments</u>	<u>Words</u>	<u>% Fragments</u>	<u>% Words</u>
Fragments allocated: all save 13, 15, 21	36	2586	100	100
Q: 8, 10, 14, 22, 25, 28, 29, 36	8	552	23	22
(Q): 5, 6, 7, 9, 23, 24, 26, 27, 30	9	354	25	14
Total Q	17	906	48	36

	<u>Fragments</u>	<u>Words</u>	<u>% Fragments</u>	<u>% Words</u>
L: 9, 20, 38	3	429	9	16
(L): 2, 4, 5, 18, 19, 34, 36	7	733	19	31
Total L	10	1262	28	47
Total Q-L ¹⁷	26	2145	76	83
M: 23, 32, 39	3	154	9	6
(M): 1, 2, 3, 4, 5	5	312	15	12
Total M	8	466	24	18
Mk.: 11, 33, 37	3	236	9	9
(Mk.): 5, 9, 12, 16, 17, 31, 34	7	584	19	23
Total Mk.	10	820	28	31
(J): 4, 12, 26, 35	4	291	11	11
(P): 18, 19	2	206	6	8

Word counts for the above table cannot, of course, be regarded as wholly reliable, since the restorations are in four different languages, and in a few cases alternative reconstructions have been offered. But these considerations do not invalidate the general conclusions to be drawn.

Before discussing the results of the analysis, it must be recalled that while we have only short fragments of the Hebrew Gospel before us, these fragments are in all probability quite representative of the whole. There is hardly a single phase of the Synoptic outline of Jesus' life that is not represented. Moreover, the passages do not tend to concentration in one part of this outline: their distribution is fairly even over the whole, and it may

accordingly be assumed that we have fair representation of the total Gospel.

In the first place, then, let us consider the Markan material paralleled in GH. Three of the thirty-six fragments - one-twelfth - are definitely allocated to Mark. Seven others are less certainly Markan, so that about one-fourth of the fragments may be Markan, and these contain less than one-third of the total number of words in the restored passages. But of the less definite Markan allocations, fragment 5 is listed as possibly belonging under Q, L or M; fragment 34 is listed as possibly belonging under L; and fragment 16, as was noted above, may be independent. Depending upon the restoration adopted, fragment 9 may be completely independent of all Markan influence. At all events, at least two-thirds, and possibly eleven-twelfths, of the known fragments of GH are non-Markan.

Next, let us consider GH parallels to M, the peculiar material of the First Gospel. The definite M allocations comprise about one-eleventh of the fragments, with about one-sixteenth of the words of all the restored texts. If to these are added the less definite allocations, less than one-fourth of the fragments, containing less than one-fifth of the words, go to M. Of the definite M allocations, fragment 23 may belong to Q instead; it contains 54 words, so that only two fragments remain, together containing 100 words, for which an M allocation is required. At least four-fifths, and possibly 97%, of the known GH fragments, are not allocable to the peculiar sources underlying canonical Matthew.

To L are definitely allocated one-twelfth of the fragments, containing about one-sixth of the total number of words. When to these are added the less certain L allocations, we have assigned to L about three-teenths of the fragments, and nearly half the words! At least one-twelfth, and possibly not quite one-half, of the known sections of GH are parallel to the peculiar material of the Third Gospel.

Definite allocations to Q comprise eight fragments, with 552 words - not quite one-fourth in each case. Nine other fragments may belong to Q, so that nearly half the fragments may be allocable to that document. From one-fourth to one-half of the known GH fragments are allocable to Q.

The effect of these considerations upon the supposition, that GH is a secondary document based upon Matthew, is apparent. About one-half of Matthew is Markan, while at least two-thirds, and probably more, of GH is non-Markan. Only about one-fifth of Matthew is taken from Q, yet about one-third of our GH passages are allocated to that document. The question arises, whether these phenomena are due, not to the nature of GH, but to the preferences of the early Fathers in matters of quotation: would they not be more likely to quote discourse than narrative material, and would this tendency not account for the apparently high proportion of Q material in GH as compared with Matthew? The question is answered at once in the following table, which lists these fragments which may properly be styled narrative passages:

1. Visit of the Magi.	83 words
2. Flight into Egypt.	33 "
Settlement at Nazareth.	45 "
3. Jesus Urged to Baptism.	66 "
4. Descent of the Spirit.	62 "
9. Man with Withered Arm.	111 "
11. Triumphal Entry.	40 "
12. Temple Cleansed.	97 "
16. Barrabban.	81 "
17. Lintel of Temple Broken.	31 "
18. Appearance to James, etc.	162 "
19. Appearance to Peter et al.	44 "
20. Genealogy.	253 "
22. Temptation in Jerusalem.	59 "
30. Demand for a Sign.	55 "
33. Peter's Confession.	84 "
34. The Other Rich Man.	144 "
35. Woman in Sin.	110 "
37. Peter's Denial.	117 "
38. Crucifixion.	45 "
39. Watch at the Sepulchre.	89 "

20 fragments

1811 words

More than half of the GH fragments, containing about 70% of the words of the restored texts, are narrative. Hence GH's comparatively low ratio of Markan to Q material is not due to any patristic preference for quoting discourse material.

To resume the argument, GH has a low proportion of Markan matter, compared with Matthew. It has a high proportion of Q matter, compared with Matthew. Then, it has an extremely small quantity of material parallel to the peculiar sections of Matthew. Remove the Infancy sections, and this M material approaches the vanishing point: yet Matthew takes about as much from his own peculiar sources as he does from Q. And finally, the peculiar Lukan material in GH greatly exceeds its M material, and possible similarities between GH and L extend over nearly half the Hebrew Gospel. These facts simply are not accounted for by

the theory that GH followed Matthew as his main source, with occasional reminiscences of Luke. So far from being occasional reminiscences, parallels to Luke in GH are in fact general characteristics of this Gospel.

But if GH had not canonical Matthew as its main source, the evidence for its dependence upon any other canonical Gospel is still less strong. This fact is emphasized when it is recalled that a large portion of the material allocated to various sources contains, in fact, much new material. The following sections, though sometimes paralleled in the New Testament, comprise contents partly or wholly unlike anything therein: 3, Jesus urged to baptism; 4, descent of the Spirit; 5, Jesus taken to Mount Tabor; 6, on grieving the spirit of one's brother; 7, on beholding one's brother with love; 9, the man with a withered arm; 10, on forgiveness; 12, cleansing the Temple; 13, confusion leads to death and to life; 16, about Barrabban; 17, the lintel of the Temple broken; 18, the post-Resurrection appearance to James, and other implied contents; 19, appearance to Peter and his companions; 23, "gathered with me in my bosom"; 26, "I choose the good ones"; 27, "He that wondereth shall reign"; 34, the other rich man; 35, the woman accused before the Lord; 36, parable of the talents; 38, the Crucifixion; twenty fragments in all, containing 1355 words, so that more than half of the GH material so far considered varies from its canonical parallels in points of major importance, or has no real parallels in the New Testament Gospels. Of course, it is to be expected that the

fathers will have quoted GH oftenest where it varied most noticeably from the New Testament records. Nevertheless, the presence in GH of so much new material - and we cannot doubt that there was a great deal of new matter which has not been preserved - is not explained on the grounds of secondary derivation.

Indeed, much of GH's new matter is not certainly of a secondary character. Judgment as to what constitutes secondary material is necessarily in large measure a subjective process. But it is submitted that a great deal of the new matter in GH is quite as arresting, and has quite a primitive an appearance, as much that is found in the canonical Gospels, e.g., the recognition that Jesus could be in error, the statements concerning brotherly love, the description of the man with a lame arm, the post-Resurrection appearances, the less miraculous nature of the Jerusalem Temptation, the various representations of Jesus' attitude toward the Jews, and many of the sayings. Of course, there remains a considerable amount of material that does actually appear to be secondary: the liking for descriptions of stars, starry lights, etc.; the tendency, stronger than in Matthew, to rearrange accounts in conformity with Old Testament prophecies; the continual reference to Jesus as "Lord"; the expansion and elaboration of incidents told in the canonical Gospels. But, as was noted in the previous study,¹⁸ it is only to be expected that a Jewish Gospel would not be protected against invasion by secondary material. The surprising thing is that most of this secondary matter does

not appear offensive or foolish to a modern reader, for practically all other known extracanonical Gospels are guilty in this respect.

There remain to be considered, very briefly, some of the characteristic expressions and literary usages of GH, as these may be discovered in the restored fragments.

(1) Mention of stars, starry light, etc.; fragments 1, 3, 12. No exact counterpart of this tendency is found in any New Testament book. The following table shows the frequency with which somewhat similar expressions occur in the historical books of the New Testament.¹⁹

	<u>Matthew</u>	<u>Mark</u>	<u>Luke</u>	<u>Acts</u>	<u>John</u>
Star	3		1	2	
Shine	4	1	1	3	2
Light	<u>9</u>	<u> </u>	<u>11</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>16</u>
Totals	16	1	13	14	18

In most cases, the word light is used in the Fourth Gospel in a figurative sense. This is also true of Matthew and Luke, but in not quite the same way. In any case, GH is in this particular closer to Matthew-Luke than to Mark.

(2) Frequent mention of the mother of Jesus; fragments 2a, 2b, 3a, 3b, and possibly 5. She is mentioned in Mark four times, in Matthew eight times, in Luke eight times, in Acts twice, in John four times. Mark is of course shorter than the other Synoptics, but most of Matthew's additions to Mark comprise discourse material. It is

characteristic of Luke to mention women. GH is again closer to Matthew-Luke than to Mark.

(3) References to, and quotations from, Old Testament prophecy; fragments 1, 2a, 2b, 4a, 4b, 10, 14, 17b, 30, 33, 34, 35. Old Testament prophets are cited or mentioned in Mark three times, in John five times, in Luke eighteen times, in Acts twenty times, in Matthew twenty-three times. Ascriptions of the term "prophet" to Jesus and his contemporaries would increase the total number of instances of the term in each case. Again, GH is closer to Matthew-Luke than to Mark or John.

(4) Jesus referred to as Lord; fragments 3a, 4b, 7, 10, 18b, 18c, 18d, 34, (35), 38. None of these instances is of an eschatological nature, so that in comparative counts from canonical books eschatological uses of the ascription must be omitted. With these omissions, Mark applies the term to Jesus on two occasions, Matthew four times, Acts twice, Luke six times, John eight times. GH is closest to Luke and John, and farthest from Mark.

(5) Mention of the Holy Spirit; fragments 4a, 4b, 5, 10, (21). The Holy Spirit is mentioned in John once (i.e., once by that name), in Mark four times, in Matthew six times, in Luke thirteen times. The term appears in Acts thirty-seven times, due to the circumstances of the narratives. Once more, GH is closest to Luke.

(6) Introduction of Simon Peter into the narrative; fragments 10, 19, 33, 34, 37. This disciple is mentioned by name in Luke five times, in John six times, in

Mark seven times, in Matthew nine times. The figures are too close to admit of any conclusion. Peter is mentioned in Acts seventeen times, again due principally to the exigencies of the narrative. Of the GH instances, fragments 19 and 34 are especially remarkable.

(7) Teachings concerning brotherliness; fragments 6, 7, 10, 34. The first two of these are uncanonical, but are quite similar in tone to sections of the Sermon on the Mount. Fragment 10, on forgiving seventy times seven times, is like the corresponding passage in Q. The last fragment tells the story of the Two Rich Men: an emphasis on brotherliness is not found in the corresponding sections of the canonical Gospels.

(8) Use of the term "the Father in heaven", fragments 8, 24, 26, 29, 33, 34. This is a Matthean characteristic. But, as Dalman has pointed out,²⁰ it is a Jewish characteristic, and is probably primitive.

The investigation of these characteristic literary forms of GH supports the conclusion previously reached on the basis of a statistical analysis of parallel New Testament passages: GH is non-Markan, and is strongly Lukan.

It is probable that a more extended investigation than the foregoing could be profitably pursued. But it is unlikely that further investigation would invalidate the conclusions reached. The evidence gathered in preceding pages is sufficient to form the basis for an hypothesis as to the literary sources of the Hebrew Gospel. Such an hypothesis

will be useful in evaluating a number of fragments preserved in many places, which may have claim to being parts of the Gospel, but which are not specifically assigned thereto in the contexts which preserve them. It may also be of service in suggesting what portions of the canonical Gospels were probably paralleled in GH.

The hypothesis here offered is as follows: that the ministry narratives of the Gospel according to the Hebrews were dependent either upon Luke exclusive of its Markan parts, or upon the sources which themselves underlay the non-Markan sections of Luke.

This theory may serve somewhat to confirm the so-called Four Document Hypothesis of Streeter.²¹ According to this theory, the sources underlying our present Gospels of Matthew and Luke were four in number: Mark, substantially as it now appears in the New Testament; Q, the non-Markan source used by both Matthew and Luke, and comprising mainly discourse material; M, the source of elements peculiar to Matthew; and L, the source of Luke's peculiar material. It is supposed that prior to composing our Third Gospel, Luke wrote a Gospel which Streeter terms Proto-Luke. The latter consisted in the main of a combination of Q with L. L itself may have been compiled by Luke, though this is not a necessary part of the theory. Proto-Luke, unlike Q, was a complete Gospel. After composing his first book, Luke discovered the Gospel of Mark. He then issued a second work, in which large sections of Mark were incorporated. Proto-Luke contained many elements similar to passages in Mark, and in these cases the author

appears usually to have preferred the Proto-Lukan to the Markan account in compiling his new Gospel. Thus, e.g., he omits Mk. i.16ff., the Call of the Four, because in his original book he had a "better" account (Lk. v.1-11); he omits the anointing of Jesus in the house of Simon the Leper, Mk. xiv.3-9, because in Proto-Luke was the anointing of Jesus in the house of Simon the Pharisee (Lk. vii.36-48); etc.

On other occasions Streeter believes Luke conflated Mark and Proto-Luke. In the former thesis²² this writer noted the possibility of such conflation in the narrative of the Man with the Withered Arm (fragment 9). However, instances of conflation are much rarer in Luke than in Matthew. In a few cases the account of Mark may have been preferred to that of Proto-Luke, so that the latter may have had a number of passages not now discoverable in the Third Gospel. Nevertheless Proto-Luke, so far as it may be recovered from the canonical Gospel of Luke, forms a complete, connected Gospel.

Without committing ourselves to Streeter's theory in its entirety, it will be convenient in the following pages to use his term Proto-Luke for the non-Markan portions of Luke exclusive of the Infancy Gospel. For our present considerations, the important points of Streeter's theory are that Proto-Luke was composed mainly of Q and L, and that it contained a number of sections paralleled in, but different from, Mark.

Evidence that the Hebrew Gospel is to be related to Proto-Luke includes, first, the results of the foregoing

statistical analysis of parallels. Definite allocations to Q and L included fragments 8, 9, 10, 14, 20, 22, 25, 28, 29, 36, 38: eleven fragments, with 981 words of the reconstructed texts, or nearly one-third of the fragments with nearly two-fifths of the words. Taking all of the allocations, probable and possible together, there is allocated to Q-L 76% of the fragments, containing 83% of the words of the restored passages (see table, p. 21 above). That is, more than three-fourths of the reconstructed text of GH is immediately assignable to Proto-Luke. This is the more remarkable when it is recalled that most of the reconstructions were based on Matthew, not Luke.

What then of allocations to M, a source which apparently had no connection with Proto-Luke? Of the three fragments definitely allocated to M, fragment 23 is also listed as possibly belonging under L. Fragment 32 comprises the single saying, "I was sent only to the lost sheep of the house of Israel." This is introduced by Matthew into an otherwise Markan context: there is no evidence that such a context stood in GH. The origin of the saying is unknown, but if it was in Luke's sources it is altogether after the manner of that author to have deleted it, since he emphasizes the Gentile validity of the Gospel. Fragment 39 deals with the watch at the Sepulchre. It is connected with M only because no other New Testament book contains such a story. The GH account actually differs very markedly from that in Matthew.

Five fragments are less certainly allocated to

M: 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5. Of these, fragment 2 is also given possible allocation to L; 4 to L or J; 5 to Q, L or Mk. Fragments 1 and 2 are from the Infancy narratives: the Visit of the Magi, and the Flight into Egypt. Whatever the disposition of these, it must be noted that probably neither Matthew nor Luke obtained their Infancy accounts from the same sources as their peculiar narratives of the Ministry. Since these traditions were distinct from those of the Ministry, the presence in GH of the Matthean rather than the Lukan group does not affect the probability that GH used Proto-Lukan sources for the Ministry. In fragment 3, Jesus is urged to baptism by his mother and brothers; this incident does not appear in the New Testament at all. Fragment 5 is Jesus' saying about being carried away to Mount Tabor, which is also uncanonical. Since fragment 4 may belong to L, and 5 to Q or L, equally as well as to Matthew, there is not a single case of parallelism between GH and M standing in the way of the hypothesis of a Proto-Lukan origin for the Hebrew Gospel, at least as concerns its Ministry sections. The most that can be said is that GH contains some material not now found in Proto-Luke or any other New Testament document: a fact not at all affecting the general theorem.

Next may be considered the Markan allocations. These are few in number. And the presence in GH of parallels to Mark is actually to be expected if the hypothesis is correct, since Proto-Luke also contained parallels thereto. And it must again be recalled that some of the restorations

were based on the text of Matthew, though it has since been found that Matthew was not a GH source. Hence in some cases the reconstructions must be regarded as paraphrases.

Of the less certain Markan allocations, fragments 5, 9, 12, 16, 17, 31, 34, three, 5, 9 and 34, are allocated also to L and/or Q. Fragment 12 has to do with the Cleansing of the Temple: a reference to the reconstruction²³ will remind the reader that the GH account differs from Mark very materially; it is, in fact, a variant account of the incident. Evidence for the text of fragment 16 is meagre, the only part actually preserved to us being the phrase "son of their teacher". It is known that Proto-Luke contained an account of the trial. In any case the GH account was, as has been pointed out, much more sardonic than that of Mark. Fragment 17, on the breaking of the lintel of the Temple, is a variant of Mark's rending of the Veil. Hence none of these, probably, is really Markan. They are alternative accounts of incidents told in Mark, which is precisely the sort of phenomenon appearing often in Proto-Luke.

The definite Markan allocations are fragments 11, the Triumphal Entry; 33, Peter's Confession; and 37, Peter's denial. In every case, evidence as to the exact wording of the text is slender. Here are all the actual words from GH which have been preserved to us in ancient writings containing these fragments: "Osanna barrama", "Simon, son of John", "and he denied, and swore, and cursed." Since these are found as "Jewish" marginal notes against texts

of Matthew, the GH text has been rebuilt on a Matthean basis. But we cannot be certain as to how close to Matthew the Aramaic originals of the several passages were: all we know is that GH contained these, sometimes substantial, variations from the text of the First Gospel. Fragments 11 and 37 belong to the Triumphal Entry and the Trial respectively, and both of these events were narrated in Proto-Luke. In fragment 33, the very presence of Jesus' reply beginning, "Blessed art thou, Simon, son of John," shows that the Hebrew Gospel contained a non-Markan account, since Mark has not this saying from the Master.

These are all the Markan allocations, and it is apparent that they do not seriously affect the hypothesis. In every case, the GH narrative appears to be a variant account of an incident related also in Mark, rather than an actually Markan telling of the story.

As regards characteristic literary expressions, it has already been pointed out that GH in nearly every instance is closer to Luke than to any other.

Finally, there is a fact not previously considered in these pages, which may be of considerable significance. It is commonly supposed that Luke may have gathered much of his material while sojourning in Caesarea, at the time of Paul's imprisonment there. That is, Luke would have done this work in the very city where Jerome discovered the Hebrew Gospel. Hence the relationship between GH and Proto-Luke, noted on bases of language and content, is also possibly

geographical. Further, if Luke got his material in Palestine, this material would unquestionably have had to it a strong Jewish cast. In accordance with his own Gentile attitude, Luke would tone down the Semitic aspects of whatever he might find - as we know that he did with Mark, and probably also with Q. Hence his material, in the form in which it first came to him, would have been much more Jewish than it now is in the forms of the Third Gospel. If, then, GH also preserves a Proto-Lukan tradition, it is altogether to be expected that the original Semitisms of the tradition would be more fully preserved in it. In this connection, it is to be noted that the chief Gospel material preserved in the letters of Paul - i.e., his accounts of the Last Supper, and of the post-Resurrectional appearances - is all paralleled in GH; and Paul was in constant touch with Luke during the Caesarean imprisonment. (Whether Paul would have obtained his material from Luke, or Luke from Paul, is beside the point).

Thus the evidence for the proposed hypothesis appears to be quite strong. To summarize this evidence in a slightly rearranged order: (1) in its peculiar literary characteristics, GH approaches Luke far more often than it does any other canonical Gospel; (2) on the basis of a statistical analysis of content, about three-fourths of the considered GH material is to be allocated to Proto-Lukan sources; (3) the remaining GH material is chiefly divided, as to its canonical parallels, between M and Mark, but in practically all such cases of parallelism, GH appears to

have contained divergent accounts of the same events, which is a Proto-Lukan characteristic, and a large proportion of these are known to have had Proto-Lukan parallels also; (4) there is a remarkable geographical connection between GH and L, in that traditions underlying both of these documents are to be connected with the city of Caesarea.

The evidence is short of being positive proof. But it is considered sufficiently strong to be used as a basis in subsequent deliberations.

NOTES TO CHAPTER I.

1. This abbreviation is used throughout this study in referring to the Gospel according to the Hebrews.

2. Pierson Parker, Ancient Citations of the Gospel according to the Hebrews: A Critical Study . . . Thesis submitted . . . for the Degree of Master of Arts . . ., Pacific School of Religion, 1933, ch. i.

Hereafter the above named thesis will be referred to simply as Citations.

3. The system used in Citations for numbering GH fragments is retained in the present study.

4. H. G. Evelyn White, The Sayings of Jesus from Oxyrhynchus, p. lix.

5. In a paper presented at the annual meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis, New York, December 1933, this writer attempted to show that Matthew and Luke took their story of the Jerusalem Temple Temptation from a different source from that used for the other two temptations. The main grounds for this belief are that the treatment accorded the Jerusalem Temple story by both evangelists differs materially from their treatments of the other two stories; and that the Jerusalem Temple incident is the only one of the three which we may be sure stood in GH.

6. Matthew and Luke differ from each other as widely as GH differs from either of them. Similar wide divergences between the First and Third Gospels are found in other "Q" passages (e.g., in the Stones-to-Bread and Vision-of-Nations Temptations). In the paper referred to above, note 5, it was suggested that "Q" passages in which Matthew and Luke differ widely may represent a different source from "Q" passages in which they show strong agreement.

7. Citations, pp. 62ff.

8. Op. cit., pp. lviif.

9. Ibid.

10. See below, ch. iv.

11. James Moffatt, Introduction to the Literature of the New Testament, pp. 197-202.

12. Matthew has so confused and conflated his two accounts of the incident that it is difficult to say which is from Mark and which from Q. In both cases, unlike Mark, he mentions the sign of Jonah. In xii.38ff. the Sign of Jonah is

explained, unlike the condition of Mk. viii.11ff.; Luke has an explanation of the Sign, but it is a different one. In Mt. xvi.1ff. there is no explanation, just as there is none in Mark; but Mt. xvi.2-3 is non-Markan, being parallel to Lk. xii.54-56.

In any case, the presence in GH of an explanation of the Sign shows that this Gospel went beyond Mark.

13. It is of course possible that the missing words were included in the reply to the first rich man.
14. White, op. cit., p. lvi.
15. Ibid.
16. Citations, ch. i.
17. The Q-L total is not the sum of the totals for Q and L separately, since fragment 5 is allocated to both documents.
18. Citations, ch. i.
19. Word-counts for the following pages are based on Young, Analytical Concordance to the Holy Scriptures.
20. Gustaf Dalman, The Words of Jesus, pp. 154ff.
21. B. H. Streeter, The Four Gospels, 2d ed., pp. 150-272.
22. Citations, pp. 49ff.

II. THE GOSPEL OF THE EBIONITES.

We come now to the consideration of a perplexing problem, viz., the evaluation of a book known as the Gospel of the Ebionites, and of the relationship between it and the Gospel according to the Hebrews. All that we know of the Ebionite Gospel comes to us from Epiphanius, and all of his citations of it are found in one section (xxx.) of his work Against Heresies. Epiphanius is a very unreliable scholar, and his statements must be examined with the greatest caution. Many of these refer to GH itself, which he apparently confused with the Ebionite Gospel. This has caused some modern scholars (e.g., Nicholson) to do the same. But examination of Epiphanius' fragments will show that this Gospel cannot have been GH in its original form, whatever is concluded as to the relationship between the two.

The system of enumerating fragments, hitherto followed, must be abandoned for the moment. Numbers will not be applied to entire passages from Epiphanius. Instead, certain phrases and clauses within these passages will be numbered, in order of their first consideration here. This will aid in detailed examination of the fragments, and of any information Epiphanius may supply concerning the Gospel as a whole.

Epiphanius, Haer. xxx.3.7: (1) Καὶ δέχονται μὲν καὶ αὐτοὶ τὸ κατὰ Ματθαῖον εὐαγγέλιον, τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ αὐτοὶ ὡς

καὶ οἱ κατὰ Κέρινθον καὶ Μήρινθον χρῶνται μόνῳ. (2) καλοῦσι δὲ αὐτὸ κατὰ Ἑβραίους, (3) ὡς τὰ ἀληθῆ ἐστὶν εἰπεῖν, ὅτι Ματθαῖος μόνος Ἑβραῖστὶ καὶ Ἑβραϊκοῖς γράμματα ἐν τῇ καινῇ διαθήκῃ ἐποίησατο τὴν τοῦ εὐαγγελίου ἐκθεσίν τε καὶ κήρυγμα.

This reads like another description of GH, of a type now familiar to us. The passage describes certain definite characteristics of the Gospel.

(1) The subject is the Ebionites. They accept only the Gospel of Matthew, following in this the teachings of Cerinthus and Merinthus. Except for the incorporation of these names, the circumstances are identical with those of GH.

(2) The users of the Gospel style it "According to the Hebrews." This being the title which they gave it, we must assume either (a) that they also believed it to be by Matthew, or at least based on Matthew, or (b) that Epiphanius believed it to be the Hebrew Matthew.

(3) The distinct implication is that the Gospel was in Hebrew (or Aramaic).¹

Haer. xxx.13.2: (4) ἐν τῷ γούν προ' αὐτοῖς εὐαγγελίῳ κατὰ Ματθαῖον ὀνομαζομένῳ, (5) οὐχ ὁλῶ πληρεστέα, ἀλλὰ νενοθευμένῳ καὶ ἡκρωτηριασμένῳ - (6) Ἑβραϊκὸν δὲ τοῦτο καλοῦσιν - ἐμφέρεται ὅτι

(7) Ἐγένετο τις ἀνὴρ ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦς, (8) καὶ αὐτὸς ὡς ἐτῶν τριάκοντα, (9) ὃς ἐξελέξατο ἡμᾶς. (10) καὶ ἐλθὼν εἰς Κεφαρναούμ (11) εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν Σίμωνος τοῦ ἐπικληθέντος Πέτρου (12) καὶ ἀνοίξας τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ εἶπε· (13) παρερχόμενος πρὸς τὴν λίμνην Τιβεριάδος (14) ἐξελεξάμην Ἰωάννην καὶ Ἰάκωβον υἱοῦς Ζεβεδαίου καὶ Σίμωνα καὶ Ἀνδρέαν (15) καὶ Θωμᾶν καὶ Σίμωνα τὸν ζηλωτὴν καὶ Ἰούδαν τὸν Ἰσκαριώτην, (16) καὶ σὲ τὸν Ματθαῖον καθεζόμενον

ἐπὶ τοῦ τελωνίου ἐκίλεται, καὶ ἠκολούθητάς μοι.

(17) Ὑμεῖς οὖν βούλομαι εἶναι δεκχομένου ἀποστόλους

(18) εἰς μαρτύριον τοῦ Ἰσραήλ.

καὶ

(19) Ἐγένετο Ἰωάννης βαπτίζων, (20 καὶ ἐξηλθον

πρὸς αὐτὸν Φαρισαῖοι καὶ ἐβαπτίσθησαν καὶ πάντα

Ἱεροσόλυμα. (21) καὶ εἶχεν ὁ Ἰωάννης ἔνδυμα ἀπὸ

τριχῶν καμήλου καὶ ζώνην δερματίνην περὶ τὴν ὀσφὺν

αὐτοῦ, (22) καὶ τὸ βρόμα αὐτοῦ

φησὶ

μέλι ἄγριον, οὗ ἡ γεῦσις ἦν τοῦ μύννης ὡς ἐγκρίως ἐν ἐλαίῳ

ἵνα δῇθεν μεταστρέψαι τὸν τῆς ἀληθείας λόγον εἰς ψεῦδος καὶ

ἀντὶ ἀκριδῶν ποιήσωσιν ἐγκρίδας ἐν μέλιτι.

(4) Again the Ebionite Gospel is supposed to be

that according to Matthew.

(5) It is not a complete Gospel, but mutilated;

whereas GH is "quite complete".²

(6) Again, Ebionites is given a name similar to

that of GH.

(7) This fragment must have been at or near the

beginning of the Gospel. Hence there was no Infancy narra-

tive, which suggests that it was used by Eusebius' and

Origen's second, less orthodox group.³

(8) Cf. Lk. iii.23: καὶ αὐτὸς ἦν Ἰησοῦς

ἀρχόμενος ὡς αὐτῶν τριάντων. It is notable that

Hippolytus reads ὡς with this Gospel, instead of ὡς αὐτῶν.⁴

(9) Apparently the narratives of the Gospel were

related from the standpoint of the first person, i.e., by

one of the disciples. This was probably Matthew, since he

is singled out for separate notice in this same fragment.

(Further support of this supposition on the ground that the Gospel bore Matthew's name is not so strong, since it is Epiphanius who says it is Matthew's Gospel).

(10) Cf. Mt. iv.13: ἐλθὼν κατῴκησεν εἰς

Καφαρναούμ, the closest linguistic parallel, though the circumstances of the narrative are closer to Mk. i.21: καὶ εἰσπορεύοντι εἰς Καφαρναούμ. Lk. iv.31: καὶ κατῆλθεν εἰς Καφαρναούμ.

(11) There is no such description in this

connection in the canonical Gospels. But in them Jesus does visit Simon's house during his first sojourn in Capernaum, Mt. viii.14; Mk. i.29; Lk. iv.38. In the first of these, Simon has already received his name "Peter" (despite the later story that he was given his surname at Caesarea Philippi). In Mark and Luke he is still called merely Simon.

(12) Cf. Mt. v.2: καὶ ἀνοίξας τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ

ἐδίδασκεν αὐτοὺς λέγων. The words do not occur elsewhere in the New Testament. Cf. Job iii.1.

(13) The scene is that of Mt. iv.18 = Mk. i.16 =

Lk. v.1, but the words are different from all three. The name Tiberias is found only in John (vi.1, xxi.1), but Luke is the only canonical evangelist to call this body of water a lake.

(14) These were the four who Matthew-Mark say were

called by Jesus on the occasion indicated.

(15) The implication is that these three were also

called on that occasion.

(16) In the Synoptists the call of Levi/Matthew is considerably later than the call of the Four, Mt. ix.9ff. = Mk. ii.14ff. = Lk. v.27ff. The First Gospel is the only Synoptic to give this disciple the name, Matthew.

(17) The word "apostle" may be due to mistranslation from the Aramaic. There are not twelve names in this passage, though the omission is better blamed on Epiphanius than on the Gospel itself. This introduces the matter of the order in which the disciples are named, which is quite different from any canonical list.

<u>Ebionites</u>	<u>Mt. x.2-4</u>	<u>Mk.iii.16-19</u>	<u>Lk. vi.14-16</u>	<u>Acts i.13,16</u>
John and	Simon who is called Peter	Simon he surnamed Peter	Simon whom he also named Peter	Peter
Simon	Andrew his brother	James the son of Zebedee	Andrew his brother	John
Andrew	James the son of Zebedee	John the brother of James	James	James
Thaddeus	John his brother	Andrew	John	Andrew
Simon the Zealot	Philip	Philip	Philip	Philip
Judas the Iscariot	Bartholomew	Bartholomew	Bartholomew	Thomas
Matthew as thou didst sit at the receipt of custom	Thomas	Matthew	Matthew	Bartholomew
	Matthew the publican	Thomas	Thomas	Matthew
	James the son of Alpheus	James the son of Alpheus	James the son of Alpheus	James the son of Alpheus
	Thaddeus	Thaddeus	Simon who was called the Zealot	Simon the Zealot
	Simon the Cananean	Simon the Cananean	Judas the son of James	Judas the son of James

<u>Mt.</u>	<u>Mk.</u>	<u>Lk.</u>	<u>Acts</u>
Judas Isca- riot who also be- trayed him	Judas Isca- riot who also be- trayed him	Judas Isca- riot who became a traitor	Judas who was guide to them that took Jesus

Ebionites differs from all the canonical lists

(a) in not mentioning Simon Peter first - though he has been mentioned previously at (11); (b) in omitting Philip, Bartholomew, Thomas, and James the son of Alpheus; (c) in failing to mention that Judas Iscariot was a traitor; (d) in naming Matthew last.

It is closer to Matthew than any other, in stating that Matthew was a tax-collector.

It is closer to Luke-Acts than the others (a) in putting John before James (which Luke's Gospel does not do here but does in many other places); (b) in calling the second Simon a Zealot instead of a Cananean.

The entire arrangement and setting of the Ebionite list is so different from those of the Synoptists that the comparison may seem inappropriate. But this Ebionite passage probably took the place of the canonical lists.

(18) Possibly takes the place of the Mission of the Twelve. Cp. Mt.-GH: οὐκ ἀπεστάλην εἰ μὴ εἰς τὰ πρόβια τὰ ἀπολωλότα οἴκου Ἰερουζαλ (fragment 32).

(19) The closest linguistic parallel is Mk. 1.4: ἐγένετο Ἰωάννης ὁ βαπτίζων ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ. The point is not of great importance, since ἐγένετο appears often in the few fragments of Ebionites which have survived. Cf. Mt. 111.1; Lk. 111.3.

(20) The closest canonical parallel is Mt. iii.5,7: τότε ἐξεπορεύετο πρὸς αὐτὸν Ἱεροσόλυμα καὶ πᾶσα ἡ Ἰουδαία . . . καὶ ἐβαπτίζοντο . . . ἰδὼν δὲ πολλοὺς τῶν Φαρισαίων κτλ. Matthew is the only canonical evangelist who says Pharisees came to John's baptism. Cf. also Mk. i.5.

(21) The wording is reminiscent of Mk. i.6a, Mt. iii.4. It is closer to the latter.

(22) These Ebionites were vegetarians, and so made the slight change from ἀκρίς to ἐγκρίς, says Epiphanius. But the change is Greek, whereas Epiphanius has indicated that the Gospel was in Hebrew or Aramaic. On the other hand, it is quite likely that all the words after μέλι ἄγριον are Epiphanius' own comment, in which case the change from ἀκρίς to ἐγκρίς is in Epiphanius' fancy only: part of his method of exposition of the Gospel.

Haer. xxx.13.6: ἡ δὲ ἀρχὴ τοῦ πρὸ αὐτοῖς εὐαγγελίου ἔχει ὅτι

(23) Ἐγένετο ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις Ἡρώδου τοῦ βασιλέως τῆς Ἰουδαίας (24) ἦλθεν Ἰωάννης βαπτίζων (25) βάπτισμα μετανοίας ἐν τῷ Ἰορδάνῃ ποταμῷ, (26) ὃς ἐλέγετο εἶναι ἐκ γένους Ἀαρὼν τοῦ ἱερέως (27) πᾶς Ζαχχαρίου καὶ Ἐλισάβετ· (28) καὶ ἐξήρχοντο πρὸς αὐτὸν πάντες.

This is a continuation of the previous section.

(23) Identical with Lk. i.5a. Cf. Mt. ii.1: . . . τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἐν ἡμέραις Ἡρώδου τοῦ βασιλέως κτλ. In its present place the phrase is anachronistic. On the other hand, one or other of the sections (19)-(20) and (23)-(24)-(28) cannot be exact quotation from the Gospel, since they cover the same

material in different words. Compared with (23)-(24), (19) reads like a reduction. But (28) sounds like a reduction of (20). Whichever group is accepted as an authentic part of the Gospel, the other group must be attributed to Epiphanius himself. Hence the anachronism may be his, not the Gospel's.

(24) The exact language is not found in any other Gospel.

(25) For βαπτισμῶν μετάνοίας see Mk. 1.4, Lk. 11.3. Ebionites - or perhaps it is Epiphanius - omits the phrase, "unto the remission of sins". For ἐν τῷ Ἰορδάνῃ ποταμῷ see Mt. 11.6, Mk. 1.5.

(26) Cp. Lk. 1.5. But note the word ἐλέγετο.

(27) Cp. Lk. 1.5ff.

(28) See note to (23).

Haer. xxx.13.7: καὶ μετὰ τὸ εἰπεῖν πολλὰ ἐπιφέρει ὅτι·

(29) τοῦ λαοῦ βαπτισθέντος ἦλθε καὶ Ἰησοῦς καὶ
(30) ἐβαπτίσθη ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἰωάννου. (31) καὶ ὡς
ἀνῆλθεν ἀπὸ τοῦ ὕδατος ἠνοίγησαν οἱ οὐρανοὶ
(32) καὶ εἶδεν τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον (33) ἐν εἴδει
περιστερῆς κατελθούσης καὶ εἰσελθούσης εἰς αὐτόν.
(34) καὶ φωνὴ ἐγένετο ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ λέγουσα·
(35) σὺ μου εἶ ὁ υἱὸς ἀγαπητός, ἐν σοὶ ἡὐδόκησα,
(36) καὶ πάλιν· Ἐγὼ σήμερον γέγεννηκά σε·
(37) καὶ εὐθὺς περιέλαμψε τὸν τόπον φῶς μέγα.
(38) ὃν ἰδὼν

φησὶν

ὁ Ἰωάννης λέγει αὐτῷ· σὺ τίς εἶ; (39) καὶ πάλιν
φωνὴ ἐξ οὐρανοῦ πρὸς αὐτόν· Οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ υἱὸς μου
ὁ ἀγαπητός, ἐφ' ὃν ἡὐδόκησα. (40) καὶ τότε

φησὶν

ὁ Ἰωάννης προσπεδὼν αὐτῷ ἔλαλε· Δέσφαί σου,

κύριε, σὺ με βάπτισον. (41) ὁ δὲ ἐκώλυεν αὐτὸν λέγων· Ἄφες, ὅτι οὕτως ἐστὶ πρέπον πληροῦσθαι πάντα.

This is again a continuation of the same passage from Epiphanius.

(29) Closest to Lk. iii.21. But since Jesus is mentioned as already having been introduced to the readers, the brief summary is not necessarily a reminiscence of the canonical words.

(30) Mk. i.9: καὶ ἐβαπτίσθη εἰς τὸν Ἰορδάνην ὑπὸ Ἰωάννου. Matthew and Luke have no close parallel.

(31) Cf. Mt. iii.16; Mk. i.10; Lk. iii.21. But the wording is different from any of these.

(32) He saw the Spirit coming down. The concept is of course more primitive than Matthew's. The phrase τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον may be reminiscent of Luke. But the expression is of frequent occurrence in GH.

(33) "In the likeness of a dove" is actually of more primitive connotation than the words of any Synoptist. Mark and Matthew say "as a dove." The Spirit enters into Jesus.

(34) Note recurrence of the word ἐγένετο.

(35) The words are found in all three Synoptic accounts. But note the tense of ἠὐδόκησεν repeated in (39) but not found in any Synoptic. It is suggestive of the Semitic perfect.

(36) The Voice speaks at greater length than the Synoptists record. Cf. a similar phenomenon in GH fragment 4.

The new words are from Ps. 11.7; they are found at Lk. 111.22 in D and a few other MSS. They are closer to GH than to the critical Synoptic text.

(37) This is the only distinctly uncanonical event recorded in the surviving fragments of this Gospel. It was discussed in connection with GH fragment 4, and with the assertion of Pseudo-Cyprian that such a narrative appeared in the "Preaching of Paul".⁵

(38) Opposing Matthean tradition, this Gospel indicates that John was not aware of Jesus' supreme position until after the Baptism.

(39) The Voice is heard again, this time by John. The words are identical with Mt. 111.17b. With (38) and (39) cp. Jn. 1.31-34.

(40) Cp. Mt. 111.14: Ἐγὼ χρεῖαν ἔχω ὑπὸ τοῦ βαπτισθῆναι.

(41) Cp. Mt. 111.15: ἀποκριθεὶς δὲ ὁ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν αὐτῷ Ἄφεσ ἅτοι, οὕτως γὰρ πρέπον ἐστὶν ἡμῖν πληρῶσθαι πᾶσαν δικαιοσύνην.

Haer. xx.16.3: καὶ τούτου (42) ἕνεκα Ἰησοῦν γεγεννημένον ἐκ σπέρματος ἀνδρὸς λέγουσι καὶ ἐπιλέχθεντα· (43) καὶ οὕτω κατὰ ἐκλογὴν υἱὸν θεοῦ καλεσέντα ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου εἰς αὐτὸν ἡκοντος Χριστοῦ ἐν εἰδῶι περιστερᾶς . . . (44) καὶ ἐλθόντα καὶ ὑπηγησάμενον, ὥς τὸ πρὸ αὐτοῖς κατὰ Ἐβραίους εὐαγγέλιον καλούμενον περιέχει, ὅτι

(45) ἦλθον καταλῦσαι τὰς θυσίας, καὶ εἰν μὴ πύτυθαι τοῦ θύειν, οὐ πύτυται ἄρ' ὑμῶν ἡ δογῆ.

(42) Again we see that the Gospel contained no Infancy section.

(43) Jesus was begotten at the time of his Baptism, when the Christ (= Spirit) entered into him.

(44) Epiphanius' scorn of this Gospel is evident.

(45) Quite in accord with the previously noted vegetarianism. The saying is opposed alike to the Mosaic Law and to the tenets of the more orthodox Hebrew Christians.

Haer. xxx.22.4; after a reference to the text of Luke xxi.15, which showed that Jesus must have eaten meat, Epiphanius answers the question as to how the Ebionites went about solving the difficulty: (46) οὗτοι δὲ ἀρχνίσαντες ἀπ' ἐαυτῶν τὴν τῆς ἀληθείας ἀκολουθεῖν ἡλλαξαν τὸ ὁητόν, . . . καὶ ἐποίησαν τοὺς μαθητὰς αὐτῶν λέγοντας·

Ποῦ θέλεις ἐτοιμάζομεν σοὶ τὸ πᾶσχα φαγεῖν;
καὶ οὗτὸν δῆθεν λέγοντα·

Μὴ ἐπιθυμῶν ἐπεθύμησα κρέας τοῦτο τὸ πᾶσχα
φαγεῖν μεθ' ὑμῶν;

(46) The original incident is preserved in
Lk. xxi.9,15.

Haer. xxx.26, re the Ebionites: φασὶ δὲ καὶ οὗτοι,
κατὰ τὸν ἐκείνων ληρώδη λόγον,

(47) Ἀρκετὸν τῷ μαθητῇ εἶναι ὅς ὁ δοῦλος αὐτοῦ.

(47) While the words are not specifically ascribed to the Ebionite Gospel, they seem to be therefrom. Epiphanius is discussing the same Ebionites and their adherence to Cerinthian doctrine. He repeats the text in the same form a little later on.⁶ He had previously mentioned⁷ that the Cerinthians quoted it from "the Gospel," and he there has the reading. εἶναι γένηται, "that he be", instead of εἶναι, "to be". This agrees verbatim with Mt. x.25, except that the latter adds καὶ ὁ δοῦλος ὅς ὁ κύριος αὐτοῦ.

The foregoing are the only fragments of this Gospel which have survived. One could wish that more of that part of the book had been preserved that dealt with the ministry of Jesus. But Epiphanius' concern was with heresies, the burden of his argument being against those who held that Jesus attained his Divinity at the Baptism rather than at birth.

Proper evaluation of the Gospel on the basis of Epiphanius' allusions is difficult indeed. Finality is not claimed for the conclusions hereinafter set forth: it is only held that these conclusions fit the facts, a condition not fully satisfied by other theories which have been encountered.

First there is to be considered the general aspect of the fragments of the Gospel. This is decidedly secondary. The Gospel appears to be a work prepared to accord with certain doctrinal views. Thus, orthodox accounts are altered, or replaced by accounts which support vegetarianism. The Holy Spirit (which Epiphanius says was identified with Christ) is made to enter into Jesus, rather than descend upon him, in support of the belief that Jesus was "begotten" at the Jordan. But against this general appearance of secondary derivation there are certain characteristics of a minuter sort which seem to be primitive. Thus, (38), John did not know who Jesus was. The vision of the Spirit was vouchsafed to Jesus alone, (32). The Spirit descended ἐν αἵματι νεοῦ τεοῦ, (33), which is farther removed from Luke's τελευτήσας than is either Matthew's or Mark's account.

Next, we have to consider the language of the Gospel. In the first quotation from Epiphanius,⁸ the latter says that the Ebionites accepted only the Gospel of Matthew, which, he declares, they called According to the Hebrews; for, "to tell the truth," Matthew wrote originally in Hebrew. As has been said, the distinct implication is that Ebionites was in the "Hebrew", or rather Aramaic, tongue. The inference is supported by the recurrence of certain expressions in the cited fragments:

ἐγένετο. The word occurs four times in the six fragments. Dalman,⁹ who does not believe the Synoptic Aramaisms sufficient to postulate a primitive Hebrew Gospel, nevertheless states that "any one desiring to collect instances in favour of [such a document] would have to name in the first rank this καὶ ἐγένετο [of the canonical Gospels] ." The word recalls the Hebrew וַיֵּהְיוּ, the Aramaic equivalent of which could be וַיִּהְיוּ.

ἐλθέτω, προσερχόμενος, ὡς ἐνῆλθεν, coupled with finite verbs. The idiom is common in Aramaic: אָזְיָא וְסַמְעָנָא, יִיזְיָא וַיִּשְׁמָע, etc.¹⁰

προσερχόμενον is used superfluously in (16), which is a Semitic characteristic.

ζηλωτῶν instead of the Matthew-Mark Κανονικός may be an instance of preference for a Lukan tradition. But both terms can be traced to the Aramaic ܙܠܘܬܐ: the first is a translation, the second a sort of transliteration, of this word.

There is but one instance in all the fragments that is subversive of the supposition that Ebionites was written in a Semitic language, viz., the alteration of ἰσχυρίς to ἐγκυρίς. Note however that if the word stood in this Gospel, the alteration of the canonical words goes far beyond the change of this one. "And his food, it saith, was wild honey, whereof the taste was that of manna, as a cake dipped in oil, that they might alter the word of truth to a falsehood and for locusts substitute cakes in honey." Epiphanius' language is confusing, to say the least. Why would it not have been quite sufficient for these vegetarians to make their passage read: καὶ τὸ βοῦμα αὐτοῦ ἦν ἐγκυρίδας καὶ μέλι ἄγριον? It would seem that their purpose was not so much to satisfy their vegetarianism, as to make this prophet of the wilderness eat food like unto that of their fathers in the wilderness - manna. Moreover, we have noted that Epiphanius' language does not require the presence in the Gospel of the entire section, "and his food . . . dipped in oil;" and that if this passage appeared there in its entirety, the alteration could be merely a (for Epiphanius) happy incident of translation of the Gospel into Greek. But, indeed, the Gospel did not substitute cakes for locusts, since, on any interpretation of Epiphanius' words, only one article of food (honey) was allowed to the Baptist. Hence, under the most charitable explanation possible, Epiphanius is inaccurate here. Too much reliance must not be placed in this one instance, therefore, in the face of the total evidence on the other side.

To sum up this evidence: Epiphanius believed that Matthew was originally written in Hebrew, and he states this belief in connection with the supposed Matthean authorship of Ebionites, thus implying that the latter was in "Hebrew". The Gospel was strongly marked by Semitisms: not all of those considered have equivalents in the parallel New Testament passages. The only evidence against supposing Ebionites to have been in a Semitic tongue is one word; this word occurs in a place where Epiphanius is demonstrably inaccurate, and in a context which is not certainly a quotation from the Gospel. When it is recalled that the Ebionites were Jews, and hence would in all probability have required a Gospel written in Aramaic, the conclusion is justified completely. The Gospel was in Hebrew or Aramaic, not in Greek.

We may next consider affinities between Ebionites and the canonical Gospels.

Ebionite passages which suggest the Gospel of Mark are: (7), since it implies the absence of an Infancy section; (14), equally close to Matthew; (19), (28), (30), (32), (35) - seven passages, with a total of 42 words.

Passages closest to Luke: (8), (13), (15), (23), (26), (27), (29), (36), (46) - nine passages, with a total of 76 words.

Passages closest to Matthew: (10), (11), (12), (14),¹¹ (16), (17), (18), (20), (21), (22), (25), (31), (33), (34), (39), (40), (41), (47) - eighteen passages, with a total of 160 words.

There are no distinctly Johannine passages. The name Tiberias in (13) suggests that Gospel, but the scene is Synoptic, and the word λίμνην is Lukan. Possible approach to Johannine theory in (38)-(39) has been noted.

There is room for slight difference of judgment in the allocations of a few of these sections, and in one or two instances the wording is such that the count cannot be exact. But no revision will materially alter the result. It is patent that the tradition underlying Ebionites was largely Matthean: compared with Mark, the ratio is about four-to-one. But there is also a very strong Lukan influence: compared with Mark, the ratio is about two-to-one.

But this is not all. When the Markan allocations are examined it is seen that a number of them conform to this Gospel only in that, having a Synoptic tone, they are not allocable to either Matthew or Luke. Still others have been allocated to Mark that were equally allocable to Matthew or Luke. Thus, (7) is Markan only because it shows that Ebionites had no Infancy narrative. Section (14) is unlike any canonical Gospel; it is Markan only in that it describes the Call of the Four in a terse fashion. The only reason for assigning (19) to Mark is that it contains the participle βαπτίζων. Section (28) is a short description of the crowds attending John's ministry; it is in verbal conflict with (20) which is allocated to Matthew, so that both (28) and (20) can hardly have stood in the Gospel. Section (30) says merely, "He was baptized by John." Section (35) is as close to the critical text of Luke as to Mark, but the tense of the verb is peculiar

to Ebionites. Section (32) says, "He saw the Holy Spirit;" the last two words are more nearly Lukan than Markan or Matthean, and are actually closer to GH than to any of these. Sections (7) and (32) are distinctly non-Markan in themselves, while (7), (14) and (19) are not only non-Markan, but non-canonical. Thus evidence of direct relationship between Ebionites and Mark is altogether lacking.

Such is not the case, however, with the allocations to Matthew and to Luke. In many instances the Ebionite words are positively reminiscent of one or other of these Gospels. Passages like, "he opened his mouth and said," "being thirty years of age," "child of Zacharias and Elizabeth," "in the days of Herod the king," etc., etc., are among the peculiar characteristics of these individual Gospels. It appears that the Gospel had behind it a tradition which, while Matthean, was only less Lukan. It cannot be held that Matthew and Luke were direct sources for Ebionites, however.

Comparison of Ebionites with GH falls naturally into two divisions: external comparison, as to titles of the Gospels, their users, the circumstances in which they have been quoted, etc.; and internal, as to language and content. The two divisions will be considered in the order named.

It is to be noted that the title, Gospel of the Ebionites, is a modern one. It does not appear at all in any ancient writing. Epiphanius uses a number of designations, the first of which is τὸ κατὰ Ματθαῖον εὐαγγέλιον (xxx.3.7). He makes the same ascription a little later (xxx.13.2). In

the first instance he says that the Ebionites use this Gospel to the exclusion of others. Now this is identical with the case of GH, as is shown by a review of passages from other fathers relating to the latter book:

Ireneus, Against Heresies, i.26.2: The Ebionites use only that Gospel which is according to Matthew.

Jerome, Dial. against Pelag., iii.2: The Gospel . . . which the Nazarenes use . . . called according to Matthew.

Jerome, Tract. on Ps. cxxxv: In the Hebrew Gospel according to Matthew it is thus . . .

Jerome, Comm. on Matthew xi.13: In the Gospel which the Nazarenes and Ebionites use, which I recently translated into Greek from the Hebrew, and which is called by most the original of Matthew . . .

Jerome, Epistle to Damasus: Matthew, who wrote his Gospel in the Hebrew speech . . .

Epiphanius, Haer. xxix.9.4: The Nazarenes have the Gospel according to Matthew quite complete in Hebrew.

The last quotation, from Epiphanius, comes only a little before his first mention of the Ebionite Gospel. The language seems to be antithetical to his description of the latter (xxx.13.2): "the Gospel among them called according to Matthew, but not wholly complete."

More significant than this, however, is Epiphanius' next name for the Ebionite Gospel. In xxx.3.7 he says:

καλοῦσι δὲ αὐτὸ κατὰ 'Εβραίους· and in 13.2: 'Εβραϊκὸν δὲ τοῦτο καλοῦσιν. Where could this title have come from? The ascription of a Gospel to a race rather than to one or more individuals occurs elsewhere in the case of but one Gospel, that according to the Egyptians. As has been noted,¹¹ the latter title is probably correlative with according to the

Hebrews. At all events, it is peculiar, and does not represent a general type. Granted that the Ebionites themselves gave their Gospel this name, still they must have got it somewhere. One would think, especially in view of the fact that their book was written in the first person, that they would have found some individual or group to whom to ascribe it. But it is not they who called the book "according to Matthew", it is Epiphanius. Apparently the Ebionites knew the name and the importance of GH, if they were not actually familiar with its contents.

Who, then, were these Ebionites? We have noted over and again the differentiation of the Ebionites into two groups, on the part of both Eusebius and Origen. The first group was more orthodox than the second. Furthermore, the users of GH were called Ebionites by many fathers: Ireneus (Ad. Haer. i.26), Eusebius (H.E. iii.27), Jerome (Comm. in Mt. xii), Origen (De Princ. iv.22). In the last instance, Origen makes a play on the name, for עֲבִיּוֹנִים means "poor (people)". The term is not general, however, for all the fathers, including Origen, speak of "the Ebionites" in referring to a particular group or sect. The term was applied to a community, or several communities, of Palestinian Jewish Christians. The only reasonable inference is that GH was used by that section of Ebionites which was the more nearly orthodox, while the second group was characterized by certain "heresies": the denial of a supernatural generation, the assertion that Jesus received his Messiahship at the Baptism, the refusal to eat meat, and the abolition of at

least those elements of the Mosaic Law which provided for fleshly sacrifice.¹²

These Ebionites were, then, an heretical Jewish sect. Their heresy was a Jewish heresy. The title which they gave to their Gospel was identical with that of a known Jewish Gospel in use among other Ebionites. We should expect, therefore, that the traditions underlying their Gospel would be of a Jewish-Christian rather than a Gentile origin.

It is unfortunate that our only source of knowledge of this Gospel is Epiphanius. This very fact could be taken as a priori indication that there was no separate Ebionite Gospel, and that his allusions are to GH itself. That this is not actually the case does not militate against the seeming probability that there was a strong connection between the two.

It is likewise unfortunate that we have so few fragments of this Gospel - six in all - and that most of these deal only with the opening days of Jesus' ministry. But this condition is itself not without significance. Since Epiphanius is dealing with heresies, the suggestion is strong that the Gospel was less heterodox in its major part than at its beginning. Both the fact and the suggestion should be kept in mind in comparing the language and content of this Gospel with those of GH. Reviewing again the various sections of the Ebionite document:

(7) shows how the Gospel opened, which was not in the manner of GH.

(8) is Lukan. There is no evidence that a similar passage stood in GH. But if the conclusion as to the nature of the GH genealogy is correct,¹³ it is notable that the Lukan genealogy follows immediately upon the statement of the age of Jesus. Since both traditions could have come from the same source, both could have appeared in the Hebrew Gospel.

(11)-(18) not only lists the disciples, but seems to comprise an alternative account of the Mission of the Twelve. Note that the event takes place in the house of Simon Peter, who is prominent in GH. That GH contained an account of the Mission is evidenced by fragments 25, 26 and 27, from which it is also apparent that the GH narrative differed considerably from the canonical ones.

(17)-(18) recalls the GH saying, "I was not sent but unto the lost sheep of the house of Israel."

(23) is anachronistic. But it recalls Mt. 11.1, which introduces the Visit of the Magi, a narrative that stood in GH.

(32) τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον is closer to GH than to any canonical Gospel.

(35)-(36) The Voice speaks 13 words. Including (39) the number is 23. In Matthew the number is 10, in Mark 10, in Luke 10; but in GH fragment 4 it is 27. The account is elaborated in both extracanonical Gospels. Furthermore, the content of Ebionites is closer to GH than to any Synoptic. GH has, "My son, in all the prophets was I awaiting thee, that thou shouldst come and I might rest in thee. For thou art my rest, thou art my first-begotten son

that reignest for ever." In Ebionites, the words are a quotation from Ps. 11.7. The quotation appears at Lk. 11.22 in a very few MSS. However, it is not impossible that the Ebionites quotation was taken directly from Psalms.

(37) contains the only distinctly uncanonical event now found in the Ebionite Gospel. The evidence from Pseudo-Cyprian (GH fragment 4) was to the effect that a similar account appeared in GH. And no other Gospels than Ebionites, GH, and possibly Matthew, are known to have contained the story.

Now it is obvious that the Ebionite account of the Baptism is not identical with what could have stood in GH. It would be impossible to harmonize the narrative with known passages of the latter Gospel: the wording is different. But if Ebionites differs from GH, it differs still more markedly from the canonical Gospels, in its elaboration of the Voice and of the Descent, and in its implication of the supernatural and marvelous. The only point of actual contact with the Synoptists is in the words, "Thou art my beloved son in whom I am well pleased," a saying so short that it could have been preserved in its entirety in oral tradition. Aside from this one saying (and the quotation from Psalms, which is not necessarily taken from Luke), the spirit of the Ebionite passage is much closer to GH than to any Synoptist. Differences between Ebionites and GH are great, in point of language. But differences between it and any canonical account are tremendous.

We see, then, that the Gospel of the Ebionites was

a document in use among Jewish Christians, as was GH. These people had the same group name as the users of GH, but were differentiated from the latter on the basis of their theological views. Their Gospel was written in Aramaic, as was GH. In the mind of Epiphanius it was allied with the Hebrew original of Matthew; so was GH, in the minds of Epiphanius and many others. Ebionites had the same title as GH: $\kappa\alpha\theta' \epsilon\beta\iota\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon$. It had behind it a marked Lukan tradition, as did GH. The evidence for a distinct Markan tradition behind Ebionites is negative, since the Markan contacts are in the nature of inexact parallels, not verbal identities; we have noted similar phenomena in the case of GH. The fragments of the Gospel which have survived are Jewish in character: the Baptism of John, the mission of the disciples to Israel, the question of sacrifice, the eating of the Passover. As to verbal contacts between GH and Ebionites, the evidence is meagre, due to the paucity of materials at our disposal. But in both Gospels are to be noted the prominence of Simon Peter, emphasis upon the work of the Holy Spirit, the name "Lord" for Jesus, etc. Of all these considerations, the most cogent is the coincidence of the rare name, $\kappa\alpha\theta' \epsilon\beta\iota\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon$. It seems impossible to explain this name without the supposition of a relationship between the two Gospels.

On the other hand, matter is introduced into the Ebionite Gospel which we cannot believe had a counterpart in GH. There is considerable divergence between the two in accounts of the same events, such that harmonization could

not be effected without doing violence to the language of one or the other of them. Ebionites shows very strong Matthean influence, whereas we have seen that GH did not depend upon Matthean tradition. In its theological views, and in its depicting of certain events in connection with these views, Ebionites contained elements which must have been foreign to GH tradition.

It is therefore concluded not only that Ebionites cannot be identified with GH, but also that it cannot be regarded as an heretical recension of it. On the other hand, GH influence on Ebionites seems to have been very strong, affecting both its language and its content. It appears that Ebionites combined a GH and a Matthean tradition, twisting both into accord with its theological bias. Evidence of direct use of Mark or Luke is wanting.

What Ebionite material may be presumed to have stood also in GH? Here we are again in difficulties. To take one example, the atmosphere of the accounts of the Baptism in the two Gospels is similar. Ebionites seems to have altered the tradition in the directions of (1) greater elaboration even than GH, (2) the obeisance of the Baptist, (3) preconceptions as to the nature of Jesus. But the language of the two accounts is quite different in matters of detail.

While we can therefore assume with some safety that certain of the content of Ebionites was also in GH, we cannot be at all sure as to the wording of the passages. Also, it is not certain how much of Ebionites' uncanonical elaboration of events appeared in GH. On the whole, it is best to allow

to the Hebrew Gospel only those sections of Ebionites which have Lukan parallels, or which otherwise do not tend to the heretical or the marvelous.

In listing the restorations made on these lines, the system of enumeration employed in the previous study is resumed.

40. καὶ αὐτὸς ὥς ἑτῶν τριάκοντα.

41. εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν Σίμωνος τοῦ ἐπικληθέντος Πέτρου. καὶ ἀνοίξας τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ εἶπε· [ὕμᾱς οὖν βούλομαι εἶναι δεκαδύο ἀποστόλους εἰς μαρτύριον τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ].

The bracketed words may not be exact. But if, as has been conjectured, the scene is the sending forth of the Twelve, something of the sort must have stood in the Gospel.

42. ἐγένετο ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις [ἐκεῖναις] ἦλθεν Ἰωάννης βαπτίζων βάπτισμα μετανοίας ἐν τῷ Ἰορδάνῃ ποταμῷ.

[οὗτος ἐστίν] ἐκ γένους Ἀαρὼν τοῦ ἱερέως, παῖς Ζαχαρίου καὶ Ἑλισάβετ.

καὶ ἐξῆρχοντο πρὸς αὐτὸν Φαρισαῖοι καὶ ἐβαπτίσθησαν καὶ πᾶσα Ἰερουσόλυμα.

καὶ εἶχεν ὁ Ἰωάννης ἔνδυμα ἀπὸ τριχῶν καμήλου καὶ ζώνην δερματίνην περὶ τὴν ὀσφὺν αὐτοῦ. καὶ τὸ βρῶμα αὐτοῦ μέλι ἄγριον.

43. τοῦ λαοῦ βαπτισθέντος ἦλθε καὶ Ἰησοῦς καὶ ἐβαπτίσθη ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἰωάννου.

44. παρερχόμενος παρὰ τὴν λίμνην Γαλιλαίος ἐξελέξατο Ἰωάννην καὶ Ἰάκωβον υἱοὺς Ζεβεδαίου, καὶ Σίμωνα καὶ Ἀνδρέαν [καὶ Θωδᾶχτον καὶ Σίμωνα

τὸν ζηλωτὴν καὶ Ἰούδαν τὸν Ἰσκαριώτην].

45. καὶ παράγων ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἐκεῖθεν εἶδεν ἄνθρω-
πον καθεζόμενον ἐπὶ τὸ τελώνιον, Ματθαῖον
λεγόμενον, καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ, Ἀκολούθει μοι·
καὶ ἀναστὰς ἠκολούθησεν αὐτῷ.

46. ἐγένετο ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις Ἡρώδου τοῦ
βασιλέως τῆς Ἰουδαίας . . . [+ visit of magi].

47. προσῆλθον οἱ μαθηταὶ τῷ Ἰησοῦ λέγοντες,
Ποῦ θέλεις ἐτοιμάσωμέν σοι τὸ πάσχα φαγεῖν;

48. Ἐπιθυμία ἐπεθύμησα τοῦτο τὸ πάσχα
φαγεῖν μεθ' ὑμῶν [πρὸ τοῦ με παθεῖν].

49. Ἀρκετὸν τῷ μαθητῇ εἶναι ὥς ὁ διδάσκαλος.

The fragments are not many, and they are not
certain as to wording. But it appears hazardous to attempt
more extensive assignments from Ebionites to GH.

NOTES TO CHAPTER II.

1. Does Epiphanius' word κήρυγμα bear on the origins of GH, Ebionites, and canonical Matthew?

2. Epiphanius, Haer. xxix.9.4; GH fragment 20.

3. Citations, ch. i.

4. As does Epiphanius elsewhere.

5. Citations, pp. 41ff.

6. xxx.30.

7. xxviii.5.

8. Above, pp. 41f.

9. G. Dalman, The Words of Jesus, p. 32. This book has been consulted for most of the Aramaic comparisons made in the following pages.

10. Ibid., p. 21.

11. Citations, ch. i.

12. Note that the so-called heresy of these Ebionites was in reality of a primitive nature, and could hardly have come from any but Jewish origins. Thus, the conception regarding Jesus' birth was probably the same as that of Jesus himself. His messianic consciousness probably did come upon him in full force only at his baptism. And the asceticism of the Ebionites was quite like that of other Jewish religious sects of the first century.

13. Citations, pp. 76ff.

III. THE GOSPEL CITATIONS OF PSEUDO-CLEMENT.

One of the best known sources for extracanonical sayings of Jesus is the document commonly called the Second Epistle of Clement to the Corinthians. The faults of this title are that the work is not an epistle, was not written by Clement, and in all probability was not addressed to the Corinthian Church. The label is a convenient one, however, and will be retained in the present discussion.

This document contains some eighteen references to the deeds and teachings of Jesus. The number cannot be exact, for the reason that the author took for granted the deity of Jesus, and hence used the terms κύριος and θεός almost indiscriminately in speaking both of God and of Jesus. Usually it is possible to tell from the context who is meant, but not always. Since the author never states the source of his gospel citations, and since many of them are extracanonical, it is necessary to consider all of his evangelic material in any extended study of the Gospel according to the Hebrews.

The eighteen passages are as follows:¹

11.4: καὶ ἑτέρα δὲ γραφή λέγει, ὅτι οὐκ ἤλθον κηλέσαι δικαίους, ἀλλὰ ἁμαρτωλούς.

11.7: τοῦτο λέγει, ὅτι δεῖ τοὺς ἀπολλυμένους σώζειν. ἐκεῖνο γὰρ ἐστὶν μέγα καὶ θαυμαστὸν οὐ τὰ ἐστῶτα στηρίζειν, ἀλλὰ τὰ πίπτοντα. ὅτως καὶ ὁ Χριστὸς ἠθέλησεν σώσαι τὰ ἀπολλύμενα.

111.2: λέγει δὲ καὶ αὐτός· Τὸν ὁμολογᾶσαντά με ἐνώπιον τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ὁμολογήσω αὐτὸν ἐνώπιον τοῦ πατρὸς μου.

111.4: ἐν τίνι δὲ αὐτὸν ὁμολογοῦμεν; ἐν τῷ ποιεῖν ἃ λέγει καὶ μὴ παρκαοῦειν αὐτοῦ τῶν ἐντολῶν, καὶ μὴ μόνον χεῖλεσιν αὐτὸν τιμᾶν, ἀλλὰ ἐξ ὅλης καρδίας καὶ ἐξ ὅλης τῆς διανοίας. λέγει δὲ καὶ ἐν τῷ Ἑβραϊκῷ· Ὁ λαὸς οὗτος τοῖς χεῖλεσίν με τιμᾷ, ἡ δὲ καρδίᾳ αὐτῶν πόρρω ἤπεστιν ἀπ' ἐμοῦ.

iv.2: λέγει γάρ· Οὐ πᾶς ὁ λέγων μοι· Κύριε, κύριε, σωθήσεται, ἀλλ' ὁ ποιῶν τὴν δικαιοσύνην.

iv.5: εἶπεν ὁ κύριος· Ἐὰν ᾦτε μετ' ἐμοῦ συνηγμένοι ἐν τῷ κόλπῳ μου καὶ μὴ ποιῆτε τὰς ἐντολάς μου, ἀποβλαῖ ὑμῖς καὶ ἐρῶ ὑμῖν· Ὑπάγετε ἀπ' ἐμοῦ, οὐκ οἶδα ὑμῖς, πόθεν ἐστέ, ἐργάται ἀνομίας.

v.2-3: λέγει γὰρ ὁ κύριος· Ἔστωτε ὡς ἄρνια ἐν μέσῳ λύκων. ἀποκριθεὶς δὲ ὁ Πέτρος αὐτῷ λέγει· Ἐὰν οὖν διχτυπράξωσιν οἱ λύκοι τὰ ἄρνια; εἶπεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς τῷ Πέτρῳ· Μὴ φοβεῖσθωσαν τὰ ἄρνια τοὺς λύκους μετὰ τὸ ἀποθνεῖν αὐτά· καὶ ὑμεῖς μὴ φοβεῖσθε τοὺς ἀποκτεννόντας ὑμῖς καὶ μηδὲν ὑμῖν συνηγμένους ποιεῖν, ἀλλὰ φοβεῖσθε τὸν μετὰ τὸ ἀποθνεῖν ὑμῖς ἔχοντα ἐξουσίαν ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος τοῦ βαλεῖν εἰς γέενναν πυρός.

v.5b: ἡ δὲ ἐπαγγελία τοῦ Χριστοῦ μεγάλη καὶ θαυμαστὴ ἐστίν, καὶ ἀνάπυστις τῆς μελλούσης βασιλείας καὶ ζωῆς αἰωνίου.

vi.1: λέγει δὲ ὁ κύριος· Οὐδεὶς οἰκέτης δύναται δουτὶ κυρίοις δουλεύειν.

vi.2: τί γὰρ τὸ ὄφελος, εἴαν τις τὸν κόσμον ὅλον κερδήσῃ, τὴν δὲ ψυχὴν ζημιωθῇ;

vi.7: ποιοῦντες γὰρ τὸ θέλημα τοῦ Χριστοῦ εὐρήσμεν ἀνάπυσιν.

viii.5: λέγει γὰρ ὁ κύριος ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ· Εἰ τὸ

μικρὸν οὐκ ἐτηρήσχετε, τὸ μέγα τίς ὑμῶν δώσει; λέγω γὰρ ὑμῖν, ὅτι ὁ πιστὸς ἐν ἐλαχίστῳ καὶ ἐν πολλῷ πιστὸς ἐστίν.

ix.11: καὶ γὰρ εἶπεν ὁ κύριος· Ἀδελφοί μου οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ ποιοῦντες τὸ θέλημα τοῦ πατρὸς μου.

xii.2: ἐπερωτηθεὶς γὰρ αὐτὸς ὁ κύριος ὑπὸ τινος, πότε ἥξει αὐτοῦ ἡ βασιλεία, εἶπεν· Ὅταν ἔσται τὰ δύο ἓν, καὶ τὸ ἔξω ὡς τὸ ἔσω, καὶ τὸ ἄρσεν μετὰ τῆς θηλείας οὔτε ἄρσεν οὔτε θῆλυ.

xiii.2: λέγει γὰρ ὁ κύριος· . . . [Is. lii.5], καὶ πάλιν· Οὐκὶ δι' ὃν βλασφημεῖται τὸ ὄνομά μου.

xiii.4: λέγει ὁ θεός· Οὐ χείρις ὑμῶν, εἰ ἀγαπήτε τοὺς ἀγαπῶντας ὑμᾶς, ἀλλὰ χείρις ὑμῶν, εἰ ἀγαπήτε τοὺς ἐχθρούς καὶ τοὺς μισοῦντας ὑμᾶς.

xv.4: ἐτοιμότερον γὰρ ἐκυτὸν λέγει ὁ κύριος εἰς τὸ διδόναι τοῦ αἰτοῦντος.

xvii.4: εἶπεν γὰρ ὁ κύριος· Ἐρχομαι συναγαγεῖν πίντη τὰ ἔθνη, πυλῆς καὶ γλώσσας.

The problem of the present chapter is to investigate the character of these passages, so as to determine, so far as possible, their documentary sources. In this connection the following points are immediately to be noted: (1) All the citations which have obvious canonical parallels are related somehow to one or more of the Synoptic Gospels. (2) In ii.4, viii.5 and xiii.2, the author indicates that he is quoting from a written document. (3) The formulae, "For the Lord said," "For the Lord saith," recur with a frequency approaching monotony. (4) In xix.1 we read: ἀνγκινώσκω ὑμῖν ἐντευξέιν κτλ. Not much can be gathered from

this, since the ancients had no easy method of looking up passages. But since the document is a prepared homily, to be read to an audience, we may expect that as much care as possible will have been taken to secure correct quotation.²

The several passages may now be considered in detail.

ii.4. The saying is identical with Mk. ii.17, also with Mt. ix.13, save for the omission of a connective: οὐ γὰρ ἦλθον καλέσαι δικαίους ἀλλὰ ἁμαρτολόους. Cf. also Lk. v.32: οὐκ ἐλῆλυθε καλέσαι δικαίους ἀλλὰ ἁμαρτολόους εἰς μετένοιν, with two verbal differences, due probably to stylistic interest. Pseudo-Clement's source was, then, either Matthew or Mark or a document similar to one of these. Note that the author calls his source "another writing."

ii.7. Mt. xviii.11 reads: ἦλθε γὰρ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου σῶσαι τὸ ἀπολωλός. This is somewhat closer than Lk. xix.10: ἦλθεν γὰρ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ζητῆσαι καὶ σῶσαι τὸ ἀπολωλός. The Matthean verse is omitted from the critical texts of Tischendorff, Tregelles, and Westcott and Hort, on the ground that it is an interpolation from Luke. The MS support for the critical reading is quite strong: K, B, the Sahidic and Coptic versions, Eusebius, Juvenius, Hilary, Jerome, and apparently Origen. But the verse appears in D and all the other important incials but six late ones, and occurs in the Old Latin, the (standard) Vulgate, the Curetonian Syriac, the Peshitto, and in Chrysostom. Alford retains the verse in brackets.

If the verse were genuine in Matthew, it is difficult to account for its disappearance from important MSS of that Gospel. It is much better to suppose that it is a marginal interpolation. On the other hand, if such interpolation came from Luke, it is hard to understand why the words $\zeta\eta\tau\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\epsilon\ \kappa\alpha\iota$ should have been omitted, for (1) they occur in all important MSS of Luke; (2) they preserve a balance to the verse, which would be very easily retained in the memory, so that even if he quoted from memory, a marginal annotator could hardly have forgotten them; (3) they are an undoubted reminiscence of Eze. xxxiv.16, and hence would have been appropriate to the First Gospel. Moreover - and this is a point which apparently has not been sufficiently remarked - while marginal interpolations often occur as transfers from Luke to Matthew and from Matthew to Luke, such transfers almost invariably appear in passages which are parallel in the two Gospels. But the Matthean passage occurs in the parable of the Lost Sheep, whereas in Luke it appears in the story of Zaccheus. The saying is not found in Lk. xv.3ff., his account of the parable, in any MS, so that the interpolation could not have been made therefrom.

It appears, therefore, that Mt. xviii.11 is an interpolation, but from some source other than a canonical Gospel. If so, 2 Clement's passage must be allocated to L, otherwise to Q: in any case, it is allocated to Proto-Luke. The Matthean interpolation appears in the Curetonian Syriac and in the Peshitto, both of which are Palestinian. It also

appears in the Old Latin. The sense of the verse fits the parable of the Lost Sheep better than the story of Zaccheus. The differences between 2 Clem., $\pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma\ \tau\acute{\alpha}\ \acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron\lambda\lambda\acute{\upsilon}\mu\epsilon\nu\alpha$, and Mt., $\pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma\ \tau\acute{\omicron}\ \acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron\lambda\lambda\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$, could quite conceivably be due to different translations of a common (Semitic) original. Now, every one of these conditions is reminiscent of circumstances connected with GH. Thus, a number of marginal readings have been added to certain texts of Matthew, from GH.³ In the first chapter was shown a strong connection between GH and Q-L, while both the content and the contexts of the present passage relate to these documents. We have several times noted affinities between the GH text and the Curetonian, Peshitto, and Old Latin.⁴ And GH, written in Aramaic, appears to have been partially translated into Greek by a number of different hands.⁵

111.2. Cp. Mt. x.32: $\pi\acute{\alpha}\varsigma\ \omicron\upsilon\acute{\nu}\ \omicron\varsigma\tau\iota\varsigma\ \omicron\mu\omicron\lambda\omicron\gamma\acute{\eta}\tau\alpha\iota\ \acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \acute{\epsilon}\mu\omicron\iota\ \acute{\epsilon}\mu\pi\rho\omicron\sigma\theta\epsilon\nu\ \tau\acute{\omega}\nu\ \acute{\iota}\nu\theta\rho\acute{\omega}\pi\omega\nu$, $\omicron\mu\omicron\lambda\omicron\gamma\acute{\eta}\tau\omega\ \kappa\acute{\alpha}\gamma\epsilon\ \acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{\omega}\ \acute{\epsilon}\mu\pi\rho\omicron\sigma\theta\epsilon\nu\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \pi\alpha\tau\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma\ \mu\omicron\upsilon\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \tau\omicron\iota\varsigma\ \omicron\upsilon\rho\chi\eta\nu\acute{\omicron}\iota\varsigma$. Lk. xii.8: $\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\omega\ \delta\grave{\epsilon}\ \acute{\upsilon}\mu\iota\nu$, $\pi\acute{\alpha}\varsigma\ \omicron\varsigma\ \acute{\alpha}\nu\ \omicron\mu\omicron\lambda\omicron\gamma\acute{\eta}\tau\eta\ \acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \acute{\epsilon}\mu\omicron\iota\ \acute{\epsilon}\mu\pi\rho\omicron\sigma\theta\epsilon\nu\ \tau\acute{\omega}\nu\ \acute{\iota}\nu\theta\rho\acute{\omega}\pi\omega\nu$, $\kappa\alpha\iota\ \acute{\omicron}\ \upsilon\acute{\iota}\delta\varsigma\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \acute{\iota}\nu\theta\rho\acute{\omega}\pi\omicron\upsilon\ \omicron\mu\omicron\lambda\omicron\gamma\acute{\eta}\tau\alpha\iota\ \acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \chi\upsilon\tau\acute{\omega}\ \acute{\epsilon}\mu\pi\rho\omicron\sigma\theta\epsilon\nu\ \tau\acute{\omega}\nu\ \acute{\alpha}\gamma\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\omega\nu\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon$. The participle $\omicron\mu\omicron\lambda\omicron\gamma\acute{\alpha}\lambda\alpha\nu\tau\alpha$ appears in 2 Clement, while Matthew and Luke have the finite verb. Also, Pseudo-Clement has $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\acute{\alpha}\pi\iota\omicron\nu$ instead of $\acute{\epsilon}\mu\pi\rho\omicron\sigma\theta\epsilon\nu$. He agrees with Matthew against Luke in reading "before my Father", instead of "before the angels of God".

The canonical verses belong to Q.

111.4. The first part is not a direct allusion to

the LXX rendering of Dt. vi.5, which has not the words "out of entire heart". It is rather a reference to the quotation of that verse as recorded in Mt. xxii.37, Mk. xii.30, Lk. x.27. Matthew has: ὁ δὲ ἔφη αὐτῷ· Ἀγαπήσεις κύριον τὸν θεόν σου ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ καρδίᾳ σου καὶ ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ ψυχῇ σου καὶ ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ διανοίᾳ σου. Mark: ἀγαπήσεις κύριον τὸν θεόν σου ἐξ ὅλης τῆς καρδίας σου καὶ ἐξ ὅλης τῆς ψυχῆς σου καὶ ἐξ ὅλης τῆς διανοίας σου καὶ ἐξ ὅλης τῆς ἰσχύος σου. Luke: ὁ δὲ ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν Ἀγαπήσεις κύριον τὸν θεόν σου ἐξ ὅλης τῆς καρδίας σου καὶ ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ ψυχῇ σου καὶ ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ ἰσχύϊ σου καὶ ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ διανοίᾳ σου, καὶ κτλ. Pseudo-Clement's language is closer to Mark and Luke than to Matthew. But this is one of the instances where Luke draws from Q-L (i.e., from Proto-Luke) while Matthew draws from Mark: the contexts of Luke and Matthew-Mark are dissimilar.

As to iii.4b, the word "also" seems to indicate the author found an injunction against mere lip-service somewhere else. It is noteworthy that the Isaianic prophecy is cited by Jesus in Mt. xv.8, Mk. vii.6, immediately after (Mk., immediately before) an accusation which appears also in GH fragment 31. It is certain that 2 Clement's quotation of prophecy is taken from a Gospel version, not from the LXX, from which it differs widely. The differences between 2 Clement and Matthew-Mark are less great, but should be noted. Matthew has αὐτὸν ἀνδράπευει for 2 Clement's αὐτοῦ and ἄπειπεν. Mark reads οὗτος ὁ λ. for 2 Clement's ὁ ἀλλὸς οὗτος, and agrees with Matthew against 2 Clement in the other two words.

iv.2. The canonical parallel to this saying is

Mt. vii.21: οὐ πᾶς ὁ λέγων μοι Κύριε, κύριε, εἰσελεύσεται εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν, ἀλλ' ὁ ποιῶν τὸ θέλημα τοῦ πατρὸς μου τοῦ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς. The differences between 2 Clement and Matthew are noticeable. It would perhaps be easy in quotation from memory to substitute "shall be saved" for "shall enter into the Kingdom of Heaven." But the substitution of δικαιοσύνην for τὸ θέλημα τοῦ πατρὸς μου τοῦ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς is less easily explained on such a basis.

The Matthean verse belongs to Q.

iv.5. This passage has already been studied,⁶ it

being concluded that it belongs to GH. Note again that Jesus is called "lord". The last part of the saying is in Q.

v.2-3. Cp. Mt. x.16,28: Ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ ἀποστέλλω ὑμᾶς

ὡς πρόβατα ἐν μέσῳ λύκων. . . καὶ μὴ φοβεῖσθε ἀπὸ τῶν ἀποκτεννόντων τὸ σῶμα, τὴν δὲ ψυχὴν μὴ δύναμένων ἀποκτεῖναι· φοβεῖσθε δὲ μᾶλλον τὸν δυνάμενον καὶ ψυχὴν καὶ σῶμα ἀπολεσθαι ἐν γαένῃ. Lk. x.23: Ἰδοὺ ἀποστέλλω ὑμᾶς ὡς ἰονεὺς ἐν μέσῳ λύκων. These passages are from Q, belonging to the Mission of the Twelve (Matthew) or Mission of the Seventy (Luke). No extracanonical Gospel is known to have contained the Mission Charge, except GH and Ebionites (fragments 25, 26, 27, 32? 41, 49).

It is obvious that the determination of the origin of Pseudo-Clement's fragment depends upon our disposal of the question asked by Peter. In this connection, three points are to be noted.

(1) It is a GH habit to introduce this disciple into narratives otherwise close to the canonical parallels.

(2) Fragment 41 locates the Mission Charge in Peter's house at Capernaum, where it would be the natural thing for Peter as host to make the response.

(3) Much more significant than either of these considerations is the rhetorical style of Pseudo-Clement's narrative, which is most peculiar.⁷ The account begins abruptly, "Ye shall be as lambs in the midst of wolves." This brevity and incompleteness seems designed to lead Jesus' hearers on to the question, which is accordingly asked. The monologue then continues as a formal reply to the question. This arrangement, a kind of dramatic structure, may have been provided to break the monologue. Now exactly the same type of structure is to be observed in a passage from GH, fragment 10: Si peccaverit, inquit, frater tuus in verbo et satis tibi fecerit, septies in die suscipe eum. Dixit illi Simon discipulus eius, Septies in die? Respondit Dominus et dixit ei, Etiam ego dico tibi usque septuagies septies. Here, as in 2 Clement, we find first a brief, abrupt statement, then a mechanical inquiry put by Peter, and lastly the remainder of the Synoptic saying, turned into a response.

In summary, the Pseudo-Clementine fragment is parallel to Q; it comes from the Mission Charge, an incident known to have stood in GH and Ebionites, but not known to have been in any other extracanonical Gospel; it introduces Peter into the narrative, as GH often does, and in a scene

where GH would be expected to make him prominent; it exhibits a very peculiar rhetorical style which, however, finds an exact counterpart in a known GH passage. It seems altogether probable, therefore, that GH was in fact the source of the Pseudo-Clementine narrative.

v.5b; vi.7. These passages have already been considered.⁸ The first seems to be an oblique reference to the remarkable saying of GH fragment 27. Note the similarity between 2 Clement, θαυμαστὴ . . . ἀνίπυσις . . . βασιλείας, with GH, θαυμάζεται . . . βασιλεύει . . . ἀναπνέεται: these are the key words in both passages.

The second verse, vi.7, is less close to this GH saying, and may be independent, though this is doubtful. If independent, vi.7 may be related to something of the nature of Mt. xi.29, which belongs to M.

vi.1. The saying is identical with Lk. xvi.13. It is less close to Mt. vi.24: οὐδεὶς δύναται δυεῖς κυρίοις δουλεύειν, which omits οἰκέτης. The canonical passages are from Q.

vi.2. The author does not ascribe the saying to Jesus, though of course it comes from him. The passage is closest to Mt. xvi.26: τί γὰρ ὀφελήσεται ἄνθρωπος, ἔὰν τὸν κόσμον ὅλον κερδήσῃ, τὴν δὲ ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ ζημιωθῇ; Cp. Lk. ix.25; Mk. viii.36. The canonical passages are Markan, being connected with Jesus' prediction of his Passion. Pseudo-Clement diverges from all the Synoptics, in reading ὄφελος instead of a finite verb, and in omitting ἄνθρωπος after τις.

The verse has no exact canonical parallel, though the thought is like that of Lk. xvi.10-12, belonging to L: ὁ πιστὸς ἐν ἐλαχίστῳ καὶ ἐν πολλῷ πιστὸς ἐστίν, καὶ ὁ ἐν ἐλαχίστῳ ἄδικος καὶ ἐν πολλῷ ἄδικός ἐστιν. εἰ οὖν ἐν τῷ ἁδίκῳ μαμωνᾷ πιστοὶ οὐκ ἐγένεσθε, τὸ ἀληθινὸν τίς ὑμῶν πιστεύσει; καὶ εἰ ἐν τῷ ἀλλοτρίῳ πιστοὶ οὐκ ἐγένεσθε, τὸ ἡμέτερον τίς δώσει ὑμῖν; Both the similarities and the differences are noticeable. Thus with Luke, 2 Clement has ὁ πιστὸς ἐν ἐλαχίστῳ καὶ ἐν πολλῷ πιστὸς ἐστίν, though this is the first clause in Luke and the last in 2 Clement; and τίς ὑμῶν δώσει.

The same thought, but differently expressed, is found at Mt. xxv.21, belonging to Q: ἔφη αὐτῷ ὁ κύριος αὐτοῦ· Εὐ, δοῦλε ἀγαθὲ καὶ πιστέ, ἐπὶ ὀλίγῃ ἦς πιστός, ἐπὶ πολλῶν σε καταστήσω· εἰσελθε εἰς τὴν χαρὰν τοῦ κυρίου σου. This is repeated in v. 23. These verses are in the parable of the Talents. A variant of this parable is found as GH fragment 36.

ix.11. The closest canonical parallel is Mt. xii.50: ὅστις γὰρ ᾔν ποιήσῃ τὸ θέλημα τοῦ πατρὸς μου τοῦ ἐν οὐρανοῖς, αὐτός μου ἀδελφὸς καὶ ἀδελφὴ καὶ μήτηρ ἐστίν. Cp. also Mk. iii.35; Lk. viii.21. Pseudo-Clement agrees with Matthew alone in reading τὸ θέλημα τοῦ πατρὸς μου instead of τοῦ θεοῦ. He agrees with Luke alone in reading οὗτοι.

But closer to 2 Clement than any of the canonical passages is a section from Epiphanius, Against Heresies xxx.14, the same section which, as was pointed out in the last chapter, contains all his citations of the Ebionite Gospel: καὶ

ἐκτείνας τὴν χεῖρα ἐπὶ τοὺς μαθητὰς ἔφη Οὗτοι εἰσιν οἱ ἀδελφοί μου καὶ ἡ μήτηρ, οἱ ποιοῦντες τὰ θελήματα τοῦ πατρὸς μου. Note especially the word οὗτοι and the participle ποιοῦντες.⁹ Epiphanius fails to indicate the source of his logion. Since, however, it differs considerably from its canonical parallels, and since it is quoted in conjunction with all his citations of Ebionites, it is altogether probable that it comes from the latter Gospel.¹⁰

xii.2. There are two extracanonical parallels to the verse. The first is from the Oxyrhynchus Papyri.¹¹ Happily the papyrus leaf is not very mutilated at this place, and all the words are clear: λέγουσιν αὐτῷ οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ· Πότε ἡμῖν ἐμφανὴς ἔσται καὶ πότε σε ὁψόμεθα; λέγει· Ὅταν ἐκδύτησθε καὶ μὴ αἰσχυνοῖσθε.

The second parallel, from the Gospel according to the Egyptians, is cited in the Stromateis of Clement of Alexandria. It is necessary to quote four passages from Clement, to show the circumstances of his citation.

Strom. iii.9.63: ἦλθον καταλῦσαι τὰ ἔργα τῆς θελείας.

Ibid., 9.64: Σαλῶμη φησί· Μέχρι τίνος οἱ ἄνθρωποι ἀποθανοῦνται; . . . ἀπεκρίνατο ὁ κύριος· Μέχρις ἵν τικῶσιν αἱ γυναῖκες.

Ibid., 9.66: καλῶς οὖν ἀποφῆσα μὴ τεκοῦσα; . . . ἀμείβεται λέγων ὁ κύριος· Πᾶσαν φάγε βοτάνην, τὴν δὲ πικρίαν ἔχουσαν μὴ φάγῃς.

Ibid., 13.92: πυνθανομένης τῆς Σαλῶμης πότε γνῶσ-

ἡρεται [or γενήσεται] τὰ περὶ ᾧν ἤρετο, ἔφη ὁ κύριος· "Ὅταν
 ὁ τῆς αἰσχύνης ἐνδύμῃ πικτήσῃτε καὶ ὅταν γένηται τὰ δύο ἐν,
 καὶ τὸ ἔσται μετὰ τῆς θηλείας οὔτε ἔσται οὔτε θῆλυ.

On the basis of the last passage, Harnack,¹² James,¹³
 Preuschen¹⁴ and some others would assign not only the present
 verse, but all the uncanonical gospel material of 2 Clement
 beside, to the Gospel according to the Egyptians. But this
 position cannot be maintained.¹⁵ Making all allowance for
 possible quotation from memory, the differences between 2
 Clement and the Egyptian Gospel are too great to be accounted
 for on such an hypothesis.

In the first place, the context of the logion in 2
 Clement is entirely Lukan. Cp. Lk. xii.13 and xvii.18, where
 the evangelist recounts questions asked of Jesus by "a certain
 man." Furthermore, in xvii.20 we find the same question as
 that in 2 Clement, although Luke puts it into the mouths of the
 Pharisees:¹⁶ "When cometh the Kingdom of God?" In its
 description of the incident, 2 Clement is at once very like
 Luke and very unlike the Egyptian Gospel:

(1) In the latter document, Jesus is asked, "How
 long shall men die?" He replies, "So long as women bear."
 The simple and obvious interpretation of the answer is, that
 men are mortal, and they shall be so so long as they are on
 the earth. Formally and doctrinally, this is extremely
 remote from the question of 2 Clement and Luke, so that it
 is very unlikely that Pseudo-Clement would have treated the
 two as equivalent - unless we are to ascribe to the author
 a transcendental apocalypticism of which there is no trace

elsewhere in his homily.

(2) In the Egyptian Gospel there is the remarkable condition that the interlocutor is a woman, Salome, whereas in 2 Clement as in Luke it is "a certain man". If Pseudo-Clement is drawing upon the Egyptian book, we must say either that he forgot who was the interlocutor - hardly a reasonable supposition, - or that he deliberately misrepresented his source, perhaps because of a dislike for seeing women exalted in religious affairs. But again, the homily affords no evidence for the latter supposition. One must beware of charging the author with deliberate misrepresentation, lacking better evidence than the present instance affords. It is much better to suppose that the author of the Gospel according to the Egyptians substituted the woman for the unknown inquirer of Pseudo-Clement's source.¹⁷

In the second place, there is nothing in 2 Clement comparable to the strange reply of Jesus about trampling on the garment of shame. Here we should again be compelled to charge the author with a faulty memory, for there is no apparent reason why he should suppress this clause. But, indeed, 2 Clement is so far from the Egyptian Gospel that the former appears to stand to the latter rather as an ancestor of two or more generations. In fact, the Oxyrhynchus passage above quoted seems to stand between the two. On the one hand, the context λέγουσιν αὐτῷ οἱ ἀθηναῖοι αὐτοῦ, πότε ἡμῖν ἐμπαυῆς ἔσει, καὶ πότε σε ὁψόμεθα; appears closely related to the Pseudo-Clementine rendering, for just before the quotation

2 Clement has: ἐπειδὴ οὐκ οἶδμεν τὴν ἡμέραν τῆς ἐπιφανείας τοῦ Θεοῦ· and on the other hand, the words λέγει, ὅταν ἐκδύσηται καὶ μὴ χίσχυνθῇτε evince a connection with the Egyptian Gospel.

Finally, 2 Clement has the words, "and that which is without as that which is within," which are not in Egyptians. In this case the reasonable explanation seems to be that of Resch,¹⁸ who holds that the omission is deliberate on the part of the author of Egyptians, who would give a purely Encratite meaning to a saying whose original intent was that the Kingdom would come when all differences were destroyed.

It therefore seems that the passage in 2 Clement is not only not to be identified with that of the Egyptian Gospel, but is to be regarded as standing at least two stages above it. Now Harnack's identification of Pseudo-Clement's source with the Gospel according to the Egyptians rested solely on the supposed derivation of the present saying from that work.¹⁹ The foregoing considerations appear to destroy the validity of the latter contention, wherefore the whole of Harnack's theory is rendered baseless.

The incident must be ascribed to some other extra-canonical Gospel, preferably to one which is not distinctly unorthodox.

xiii.2. There is no exact parallel to this in any Gospel. Indeed, the quotation from Isaiah in the same sentence may indicate that the saying is not ascribed to

Jesus at all. It does, in fact, appear somewhat out of harmony with the Synoptic picture of the Master. If Pseudo-Clement intends to quote Jesus, the closest canonical parallel is probably Mt. xxvi.24, which belongs to M.

xiii.4. As elsewhere in his homily, the author identifies Jesus with God.

The closest canonical parallel is Lk. vi.32,35:

καὶ εἰ ἀγαπᾶτε τοὺς ἀγαπῶντας ὑμᾶς, ποῖα ὑμῖν χάρις ἐστίν;
 . . . πλὴν ἀγαπᾶτε τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ὑμῶν . . . καὶ ἔσται ὁ μισθὸς
 ὑμῶν πολὺς. Cp. also Mt. v.46: ἐὰν γὰρ ἀγαπήσῃτε τοὺς
 ἀγαπῶντας ὑμᾶς, τίνα μισθὸν ἔχετε; These verses are from Q.

xv.4. The words, if a direct quotation, are not from the New Testament. Cp. Mt. vi.8: οἶδεν γὰρ ὁ πατὴρ
 ὑμῶν ὅν χρεῖαν ἔχετε πρὸ τοῦ ὑμᾶς κίτῃσαι αὐτόν, which are
 taken from Q.

xvii.4: Again there is no parallel in the canonical Gospels. The saying is close to Is. lxvi.18, but the words
 ὁ κύριος and ἐρχομαι may indicate that the words are ascribed
 to Jesus. Moreover, Isaiah has no equivalent of φυλαίς. If
 from a Gospel, the saying is almost certainly post-Resurrec-
 tional. Cp. Mt. xxviii.18-19: Ἐδόθη μοι πᾶσα ἐξουσία ἐν
 οὐρανῷ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς. πορευθέντες οὖν μαθητεύσατε πάντα τὰ
 ἔθνη κτλ. The presence in both documents of the phrase πάντα
 τὰ ἔθνη is of interest.

The accumulated evidence may now be reviewed under
 several headings, with the view to arriving, if possible, at
 a reasonable hypothesis as to the source or sources of

Pseudo-Clement's gospel material.

First, we have noted the author's own indication, in ii.4, viii.5 and xiii.2, that he has used at least one written document. This fact is further evidenced by the presence of a number of passages that are quite close to the Synoptic Gospels.

Second, the relationships between Pseudo-Clement's material and its canonical parallels may be reviewed.

The actual quotation in ii.4 is identical with Mk. ii.17. It contains just 6 words.

In wording, ii.7 has no exact canonical parallel. But the content is similar to Mt. xviii.11 = Lk. xix.10. If the saying is genuine in Matthew, it is from Q; otherwise, it is from L. The actual quotation in 2 Clement comprises 3 words.

The parallel to iii.2 is Mt. x.32 = Lk. xii.8, whose source is Q. The passage in 2 Clement has 16 words. (All are counted, since if the author's introduction is not from his source, the latter will have contained some other of about the same length.)

The first part of iii.4 is paralleled in Mt. xxii.37 = Mk. xii.30, and in Lk. x.27. Verbally, 2 Clement differs from all of these. The Lukan passage is non-Markan in origin. The fragment contains 7 words.

The second part of iii.4 is parallel to Mt. xv.8 = Mk. vii.6, though it differs from both in detail. The fragment contains 15 words.

iv.2 is parallel to Mt. vii.21, from Q. 15 words.

v.2-3 is parallel to Mt. x.16-28, from Q. 67 words.

vi.1 is identical with Lk. xvi.13, from Q. 10

words.

vi.2 is parallel to Mt. xvi.26 = Mk. viii.36 =

Lk. ix.25, though it differs in detail from all of them. 14

words.

viii.5 has no exact canonical parallel, though the content is similar to Lk. xvi.10-12, from L. 23 words.

ix.11 is parallel to Mt. xii.50 = Mk. iii.25 =

Lk. viii.21. The citation differs from Matthew and from Mark more noticeably than from Luke. 11 words.

xii.2 has no canonical parallel. The context is

Lukan. 34 words.

xiii.2 has no canonical parallel. It suggests Mt.

xxvi.24, from M. 7 words.

xiii.4 is parallel to Mt. v.46 = Lk. vi.32,35, from

Q. 19 words.

xv.4 has no canonical parallel, unless it be Mt.

vi.8, from Q. The words are not an exact quotation. 11 words.

xvii.4 has no canonical parallel, though it suggests

Mt. xxviii.18-19. 12 words.

The total count of all the fragments is 245 words.

In summary we have:

Definite Markan allocation, ii.17; 1 fragment, 6

words. Less certain Markan allocations, iii.4a, iii.4b, vi.2,

ix.11; 4 fragments, 47 words. Total Markan allocations,

5 fragments, 53 words.

Definite allocations to Q, iv.2, v.2-3, vi.1, xiii.4;
4 fragments, 111 words. Less certain allocation to Q, xv.4;
1 fragment, 11 words. Total Q allocations, 5 fragments, 122
words.

Possible L allocations, viii.5, xii.2; 2 fragments,
57 words.

Total Q-L allocations, 7 fragments, 179 words.

Possible M allocations, xiii.2, xvii.4; 2 fragments,
19 words.

Unlike the counts of the first chapter, these have
been made solely on the actual words quoted in 2 Clement. The
figures are therefore relatively smaller than for passages
hitherto discussed.

It is notable that there is no sure allocation to
M; and that of the Markan allocations, only one is identical
with a passage from that Gospel, and that contains but six
words.

Third, let us review the evidence in these passages
of the use of the Old Testament in Pseudo-Clement's source.

In iii.4 there is allusion to that part of Jesus' Great Summary taken from Deut. vi.5. V. 4b must be from a Gospel, for it does not follow the Hebrew or the LXX. But neither is it identical with the canonical Gospel citations of the Isaianic passage. It tells of the use by Jesus of a prophetic word, which he does use in the canonical accounts of an excoriation of the Pharisees. This particular excoriation

appeared in the Hebrew Gospel.

In xiii.2, just before the new saying, Pseudo-Clement quotes Is. lxi.5. Whether he means to imply that Jesus quoted these words, or that his evangelist quoted them, or whether the citation is original with the author, we cannot be sure.

Fourth, the reader will have remarked in all these passages a fairly uniform divergence in wording from parallel passages in the canonical Gospels, and this leads to the question, whether the author quoted from memory. It is of course true that the ancients had no easy method of looking up passages, and hence often must resort to such loose citation. But in this connection, the following considerations should be brought to mind:

(1) The book with which we are dealing is a prepared homily, read to a group of hearers.²⁰ Therefore, as has already been suggested, we have a right to expect that the author will have exercised due care whenever possible to quote his authorities correctly. If the New Testament affords a legitimate comparison, it is notable that therein quotations from the Jewish Scriptures show a uniformly great fidelity to the original - a fidelity much closer than is Pseudo-Clement's to the canonical Gospels, if it is them that he is quoting. And note that, in ii.4, the author calls a Gospel "Scripture".

(2) When ancient writers quoted the canonical Gospels from memory, the common error made by nearly all of

them was to conflate readings from parallel sections in two or more Gospels. Now what do we find in 2 Clement? The quotations in ii.4 and vi.1 are identical with their canonical parallels, the first with Mark, the second with Luke. In each of the passages, ii.7, iii.2, iii.4, iv.2, v.2-3, vi.2, viii.5, ix.11, xiii.4, xvii.4, the reading in 2 Clement is unlike any of its canonical parallels: in every case his reading is against at least two canonical Gospels. The other fragments are wholly uncanonical. There is not a single identifiable case of conflation in all these passages.

While not conclusive, these considerations render precarious any attempt to attribute Pseudo-Clement's variations from the canonical Gospels to quotation from memory. It seems far more likely that the author was quoting with care and fidelity, but from a text or texts unlike our present New Testament Gospels.

Fifth, we find a number of remarkable connections between the gospel citations of Pseudo-Clement and the Gospel according to the Hebrews.

In iv.5 we have a GH passage (fragment 24), which was discussed more fully than here in the first notice of the passage.²¹

On internal grounds, v.2f. has been ascribed to GH. Its rhetorical style is identical with that of GH fragment 10. It introduces Peter into the narrative in a manner characteristic of GH, and at a point where we should expect GH to introduce him.

Oblique references to GH fragment 27 appear in v.5b and vi.7; also possibly in the second clause of ii.7.

In viii.5 is a saying which in the canonical Gospels is connected with the parables of the Talents and the Minae. It is somewhat different from its canonical parallels. A variant of the parable of the Talents was in GH.

In ix.11 is a saying connected with an incident which seems to have been told in the Gospel of the Ebionites, and hence which could have been in GH.

We therefore have six Pseudo-Clementine fragments (seven, if ii.7 be included) which are in very close connection with the Hebrew Gospel.

In summary, we have considered eighteen passages from this homily, most of which, if not all, represent evangelic tradition. These citations exhibit a fairly uniform divergence from their canonical parallels, when these exist; but this divergence apparently cannot be attributed to quotation from memory. The citations include a large amount of extracanonical matter. Of this extracanonical matter, six and possibly seven fragments are certainly connected with the Hebrew Gospel. One has in times past been connected with the Gospel according to the Egyptians, but this ascription has been shown to be impossible. There is in the homily no uncanonical material to be connected with any other extracanonical Gospel. Besides those passages which may be directly connected with GH, there is to be seen in all the fragments elements of style reminiscent of that Gospel; e.g.,

while there are but two or three examples of the use of the Old Testament, in these the procedure is quite in accord with GH custom; in many fragments Jesus is called Lord; etc. In the statistical analysis of the relationship between Pseudo-Clement's fragments and the sources of the canonical Gospels, we find a condition very like that of GH. There is no certain material from M, and there are only two short passages even suggestive of M. The Markan material amounts to five of the eighteen fragments, with 53 of the 245 words; these proportions are very similar to those of GH; and except for ii.4, the Markan allocations seem to consist of parallels to, but not quotations from, the Second Gospel, recalling the non-Markan parallels to Mark in Q-L; the only definitely Markan fragment is too short - containing but six words - for any conclusion to be drawn from it. On the other hand the total possible allocations to Q-L amount to about three-fourths of the total number of words quoted by the author in the considered passages.

Thus abundant evidence, and from all directions, points to but one conclusion. Most, at least, of the Gospel citations of Pseudo-Clement are from the Gospel according to the Hebrews. The one fragment concerning which considerable doubt is entertained in this connection is that hereafter numbered 50.

50. οὐκ ἦλθον καλέσαι δικαίους, ἀλλὰ ἁμαρτολοὺς.

51. [εἶπεν δὲ πρὸς αὐτοὺς τὴν παραβολὴν ταύτην λέγων] Τίς ἄνθρωπος ἐξ ὁμῶν ἔχων ἑκκτὸν πρόβατα καὶ ἀπολέσας ἐξ αὐτῶν ἓν οὐ

καταλείπει τὰ ἐνενήκοντα ἐννέα ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ
καὶ πορεύεται ἐπὶ τὸ ἀπολωλὸς ἕως εὗρη αὐτό;
καὶ εὗρόν ἐπιτίθησαν ἐπὶ τοὺς ὄμους αὐτοῦ
χαίρων, καὶ ἑλθὼν εἰς τὸν οἶκον συνακαλεῖ
τοὺς φίλους καὶ τοὺς γείτονας, λέγων αὐτοῖς·
Συνχάρητέ μοι, ὅτι εὗρον τὸ πρόβατόν μου τὸ
ἀπολωλός. λέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι ἦλθεν ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ
ἀνθρώπου σῶσαι τὰ ἀπολλύμενα.

The considerations adduced above²² make it reasonable
to connect the saying with this parable.

52. λέγει δὲ καὶ αὐτός· Τὸν ὁμολογᾶσαντά
με ἄνθρωπον τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ὁμολογήσω αὐτὸν
ἄνθρωπον τοῦ πατρὸς μου. ὁ δὲ ἄρνησάμενός με
ἄνθρωπον τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ἀπρηνηθήσεται ἄνθρωπον
τοῦ πατρὸς μου.

Since both Matthew and Luke, and therefore Q, in-
clude the antithesis in this context, it is reasonable to
allot it also to GH.

53. καὶ ἰδοὺ τίνος ἀνέστη ἐκπειράζων αὐτὸν
λέγων· Διδάσκῃς, τί ποιήσας ζωὴν αἰώνιον
κληρονομήσω; ὁ δὲ εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτόν· Ἐν τῷ
νόμῳ τί γέγραπται; . . . ὁ δὲ ἀποκριθεὶς
εἶπεν· Ἀγαπήσεις κύριον τὸν θεόν σου ἕξ ὅλης
καρδίας καὶ ἕξ ὅλης διανοίας. . . καὶ τὸν
πλησίον σου ὡς σεαυτόν. εἶπεν δὲ αὐτῷ·
Ὅρθως ἀπεκρίθης· τοῦτο ποίει καὶ ζήσῃ.

Lk. x.25ff. is taken as a basis for the restoration
because (1) this is in accord with the theory as to GH
origins; (2) it permits a more general locus for the event
than would Matthew-Mark; (3) it affords a text whose rhetorical

style is similar to that of other GH passages - cp. especially fragments 10 and 34.

Note that the Old Testament quotation differs alike from the Hebrew, the LXX, and the New Testament citations thereof.

54. [καὶ ἠκουώσθε τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ διὰ τὴν προέδωκεν ὑμῖν.] ὑποκριταί, καλῶς ἐπροφήτευσεν περὶ ὑμῶν Ἡσαΐας λέγων· Ὁ λαὸς οὗτος τοῖς χεῖλεσίν με τιμᾷ, ἡ δὲ καρδίᾳ αὐτοῦ πόρον ἔκκεν ἀπ' ἐμοῦ· [μάτην δὲ σέβονταί με, διδάσκοντες διδασκαλίᾳ ἐν γέλωτι ἀνθρώπων].

It is probable that the passage is to be placed immediately after fragment 31, whence the first bracketed clause.

55. Οὐ πῶς ὁ λέγων μοι· Κύριε, κύριε, σωθήσεται, ἀλλ' ὁ ποιῶν τὴν δικαιοσύνην.

The contexts of Mt. vii.21 and Lk. vi.46 are different, so that the context of the saying in GH cannot be determined.

56. [λέγει γὰρ ὁ κύριος·] Ὡς ἄρνια ἐν μέσῳ λύκων. ἀποκριθεὶς δὲ ὁ Πέτρος αὐτῷ λέγει· Ἐάν οὖν διασπαράξωσιν οἱ λύκοι τὰ ἄρνια; εἶπεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς τῷ Πέτρῳ· Μὴ φοβεῖσθωσαν τὰ ἄρνια τοὺς λύκους μετὰ τὸ ἀποθανεῖν αὐτά· καὶ ὑμεῖς μὴ φοβεῖσθε τοὺς ἀποκτείνοντάς ὑμῖς καὶ μὴδὲν ὑμῖν θύναμένους ποιεῖν, ἀλλὰ φοβεῖσθε τὸν μετὰ τὸ ἀποθανεῖν ἡμῶς ἔχοντα ἐξουσίαν ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος τοῦ βαλεῖν εἰς γέενναν πυρός.

57. [λέγει δὲ ὁ κύριος·] Οὐδεὶς οἰκέτης δύναται δυτὶ κυρίοις δουλεύειν· ἢ γὰρ τὸν ἑνα μισήσει, καὶ τὸν ἕτερον ἀγαπήσει, ἢ ἐνός ἀνθέξεται καὶ τοῦ ἑτέρου καταφρονήσει. οὐ δύνασθε θεῷ δουλεύειν καὶ μαμωνᾷ.

The last clause appears to be a necessary part of the context, especially since *ἰσο* is Semitic.

58. [τότε ὁ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν τοῖς μαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ· Ἔτι τις θέλει ὀπίσω μου ἐλθεῖν, ἀπρηνεσάσθω ἑαυτὸν, καὶ ἀράτω τὸν σταυρὸν αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἀκολουθείτω μοι.] ὃς γὰρ ἂν θέλῃ τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ σῶσαι, ἀπολέσει αὐτήν· ὃς δ' ἂν ἀπολέσῃ τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ . . . εὕρήσει αὐτήν. τί γὰρ τὸ ὄφελος, ἂν τις τὸν κόσμον ὅλον κερδήσῃ, τὴν δὲ ψυχὴν ζημιωθῇ;

In the canonical Gospels, this discourse appears immediately after Peter's Confession, which was narrated in GH (fragment 33).

59. εἰ τὸ μικρὸν οὐκ ἐτηρήσατε, τὸ μέγα τίς ὑμῖν δώσει; λέγω γὰρ ὑμῖν, ὅτι ὁ πιστὸς ἐν ἐλαχίστῳ καὶ ἐν πολλῷ πιστὸς ἐστίν.

This would be the conclusion for the parable of the Talents, fragment 36.

60. [εἶσηκεν ὁ κύριος ἐν τῷ ἀναγγελλῆναι αὐτὸν ὅτι·] Ἴδοὺ ἡ μήτηρ σου καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοί σου ἔξω ἐστήκουσιν, ὅτι· Τίς μου ἐστὶ μήτηρ καὶ ἀδελφοί; καὶ ἐκτείνας τὴν χεῖρα ἐπὶ τοὺς μαθητὰς ἔφη· [Μήτηρ καὶ] ἀδελφοί μου οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ ποιοῦντες τὸ θέλημα τοῦ πατρὸς μου.

The restoration is based on the passage from

Epiphanius, noted above.²³

61. ἐπερωτηθεὶς ὁ κύριος ὑπό τινος, πότε ἤξει
 αὐτοῦ ἡ βασιλεία, εἶπεν· Ὅταν ἔσται τὰ δύο
 ἓν, καὶ τὸ ἔξω ὡς τὸ ἔσω, καὶ τὸ ἄρσεν μετὰ
 τῆς θηλείας οὔτε ἄρσεν οὔτε θῆλυ.

62. Οὐκί δι' ὃν βλασφημεῖται τὸ ὄνομά μου.

63. Οὐ χάρις ὑμῖν, εἰ ἀγαπᾶτε τοὺς ἀγαπῶντας
 ὑμᾶς, ἀλλὰ χάρις ὑμῖν, εἰ ἀγαπᾶτε τοὺς ἐχθρούς
 καὶ τοὺς μισοῦντας ὑμᾶς.

64. Ἐτοιμότερός ἐστιν ὁ πκτήρ εἰς τὸ διδόναι
 τοῦ αἰτοῦντος.

Pseudo-Clement habitually applies the title κύριος
 to both God and Jesus. Mt. vi.8 and Lk. xii.30 have πκτήρ.

Since the saying is preserved in different contexts
 in Matthew and Luke, the GH context cannot be determined.

65. Ἐρχομαι συνχρηγεῖν πάντα τὰ ἔθνη, πολὺς
 καὶ γλώσσας.

Like so many GH passages, this gives a messianic
 turn to the Old Testament verse.

NOTES TO CHAPTER III.

1. Following the text of Kirsopp Lake, in the Loeb Classical Library.
2. See below, pp. 86f.
3. See Citations, ch. iii.
4. E.g., GH fragments 3, 9, 11, 16, 20. See Citations, chs. ii, iii.
5. Thus, Jerome claimed to have made his own translation of H into Greek. Clement of Alexandria must have used a Greek version independent of that of Jerome. The presence of the "Jewish" marginal readings suggests a third, possibly also a fourth, Greek version. Citations, chs. i, iii.
6. GH fragment 24. See Citations, pp. 86ff.; also above, p. 13.
7. The writer's attention was first called to the rhetorical style of the passage by Evelyn White, op. cit., pp. 19-20. All of White's conclusions are not accepted, however. His commentary will be considered in part in the next chapter.
8. Citations, pp. 89ff.; also above, p. 14.
9. Roderic Dunkerley, The Unwritten Gospel, p. 70, attaches great significance to Epiphanius' substitution of θαλάσσιον for εἰσαγωγικόν. The present writer fails to see the force of his argument; still, it should be noted.
10. It is so assigned by A. Hilgenfeld, Evangeliorum Secundum Hebraeos, Etc., pp. 34, 37; also by E. B. Nicholson, The Gospel according to the Hebrews, # 16.
11. Oxyrhynchus Papyri, # 655. See also B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt, New Sayings of Jesus and Fragment of a Lost Gospel, p. 41.
12. A. Harnack, Geschichte des altchristlichen Litteratur, vol. i, pp. 26ff.
13. M. R. James, Apocryphal New Testament, p. 11.
14. E. Preuschen, Antilegomena, 2d ed., p. 33.
15. The following argument is based mainly on Evelyn White, op. cit., pp. xlvff.

16. See A. Resch, Agrapha, 2d ed. (TU vol. xv), p. 196.
17. Ibid., p. 203.
18. Ibid., p. 202.
19. See note 12, above.
20. xix.1.
21. See note 6, above.
22. Pp. 70ff.
23. See also Hilgenfeld, op. cit., p. 34.

IV. THE SAYINGS OF JESUS FROM OXYRHYNCHUS.

In the year 1897 the Messrs. B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt were excavating at Benehsa, the modern site of the ancient Oxyrhynchus in Egypt. The excavation was "rewarded by the discovery of a very large collection of Greek papyri dating from the first to the seventh century of the Christian era. Of the papyri so discovered none aroused wider interest than a page from a book containing Sayings of Jesus."¹ Again in 1903 was found another papyrus leaf with sayings.

The first of these is a leaf from a papyrus book, dated in the third century by the discoverers. At the top are the letters ix which the discoverers took as indicating that it was the eleventh page of the codex. The second fragment is part of a roll, also dated in the third century, though it is thought to be somewhat later than the first.² These papyri are now so well known, and have been so often and so thoroughly studied, that it is not necessary here to enter into a description of them, nor an argument as to their general nature. The principal conclusions concerning them which have been reached by students of the subject are now generally accepted. In particular, it is recognized that the two fragments are from different copies of one and the same collection, and that this collection was fairly large.³

It is because of one other conclusion concerning the Sayings which has been reached by competent scholars that the

present chapter is necessary. This conclusion is that the Oxyrhynchus Sayings are extracts from the Gospel according to the Hebrews. The considerations leading to this conclusion have been set forth by several writers, and there is little that can be added here. Nevertheless it is well to review the argument in these pages.⁴

In the following transcription of the texts of the papyri, in addition to numbering the lines, the customary division into sayings is given, these being indicated by Roman numerals. Brackets indicate lacunae in the text. Dots indicate the discoverers' guesses as to the approximate numbers of letters necessary to fill these lacunae. A solidus / indicates the presence in the text of a punctuation mark separating one saying from the next.⁵

Oxyrhynchus Papyri # 654.

Prologue οι τοιοι οι λογοι οι [

λησεν ιησ̄ ο ζων κ[

κκι θωμ κκι ειπεν[

κν των λογων τουτ[

I 5 ου μη γευσεται / [

μη πυσσασθω ο ζη[

ευρη κκι οταν ευρη [

βηθει βασιλευση κκι

II ησεται / λεγει ι[

10 οι ελκοντες ημας [

η βασιλεια εν ουρα[

τα πατειν του ουρ[

- τι ὑπο την γην εστ[
 οι ἰχθυες της θαλα[
 15 τες ὕμας και η βασ[
 εντος ὕμων []στι [
 γνω ταυτην ευρη[
 εαυτους γνωσασθαι [
 ^{ὑμεις}
 εστε του πατρος του τ[
 20 γνωσθε εαυτους εν[
 III και ὑμεις εστε ηπτο[

 ουκ αποκνησει ανθ[
 ρων επερωτησε πχ[
 ρων περι του τοπου τη[
 25 ^{οτι} σετε πολλοι επονται π[
 οι ερχχτοι πρωτοι και [
 IV τιν λεγει ἰη̃ς / .[

 θεν της οψεως σου και [
 χο σου αποκαλυφησεται[
 30 τιν κρυπτον ο ου φανε[
 και θεσκαμενον ο ο[

 V [..]εταζουσιν αυτον ο[
 [..]γουσιν πως νηστευ[
 [.....]μεθα και πως [
 35 [.....]αι τι παρατηρησ[
 [.....]ν / λεγει ἰη̃ς[
 [.....]ειται μη ποιειτ[
 [.....]ητ αληθειαν αν[
 [.....]ν α[]οκεκρ[

40 [.....]κχοι[...] εστιν [
 [.....]α εστ[
 [.....]ιν[

* * *

Oxyrhynchus Papyri # 1.

(Verso)

ια

- VI και τότε διαβλεψεις
 εκβλειν το καρπος
 το εν τω οφθαλμω /
- VII του αδελφου σου λεγει
 5 ἰδ' εαν μη νηστευση
 ται τον κοσμον ου μη
 ευρηται την βασιλει
 αν του θυ και εαν μη
 σαββατισητε το σαβ /
- 10 βατον ουκ οφειθε το
 VIII πρῶ λεγει ἰδ' ε[]την
 εν μετω του κοσμου
 και εν σαρκει ωφθην
 αυτοις και ευρον παν
 15 τας μεθουοντας και
 ουδ'ενα ευρον δειψῶ
 τα εν αυτοις και πο /
 νει η ψυχη μου επι /
 τοις υιοις των ἁνῶν
- 20 οτι τυφλοι εισιν τη καρ
 δια αυτω[] και [...] βλεπ

(Recto)

ε

- IX [....]ει[::]ην πτωχιδ
- X [....]ει[....]ου εαν ωσιν
[....]ε[....]...θεοι και
25 [...]πο.ε[...] εστιν μονος
[...]γω εγω ειμι μετ αυ
τ[...] εγει[]ον τον λιθδ
κακει ευοησεις με
σχισον το ξυλον καγω
XI 30 εκει ειμι λεγει ισ ου
κ εστιν δεκτος προ
φητης εν τη πδισδ αυ
τ[]ου ουδε ιατρος ποιει
θεραπειας εις τους
35 γεινωσκοντας αυτδ
XII λεγει ισ πολλισ οικουδ
μημενη επ ακρον
[]ρους υψηλους και εσ
τηριγμενη ουτε πε
40 []ειν ουνχται ουτε κρυ
XIII []ηναι λεγει ισ ακουεις
[]ις το ε..τιον σου το

* * *

A reading of the above texts shows at once that the Sayings stand in close relationship to the canonical Gospels. This relationship will be considered again, in the restoration of the several passages, but it is well at the

outset to note some points.

First, it is evident that the Sayings are not extracts from the canonical books. Some of them are wholly uncanonical. Others do at times approach one or other of the New Testament Gospels, but the differences preclude the theories both of direct extraction and of loose quotation.

Second, the Sayings are Synoptic. In the prologue there may be a reminiscence of Jn. xx.24ff., but this may have been placed in the collection by the compiler merely for introductory purposes: it has no certain connection with the remainder of the Sayings. Moreover, there is not a single passage in either fragment which be attributed to the Fourth Gospel. Johannine influence, as against Johannine extraction, is perhaps observable in Saying VIII, ἐν ταῖς ἑσπέραις αὐτοῖς· but in any case, a Johannine atmosphere is not marked, and extraction therefrom is nil.

The Sayings are then to be related to the Synoptics. Of these, Mark may at once be dismissed. There is no Saying having a parallel in Mark alone, and none whose phraseology is distinctively Markan. But the relationships to Matthew and Luke are remarkable. Saying I at once recalls Matthew-Luke, ἤγαγε καὶ εὐαγγελίσατο. The first part of Saying II may be dependent on Job xii.3-7; yet it could be suggested by Mt. vi.25ff., and still more does it suggest Lk. xvii.20, ἡ βασιλεία ἐν ὑμῖν ἐστὶν. The ending of III is like Mt. xix.30 (cp. Lk. xiv.30). Saying IV is in expression much closer to Mt. x.26 = Lk. xii.2 than to Mk. iv.22 = Lk. viii.17. Saying



V seems to be Matthean in substance, though the mutilation of the papyrus is such as to preclude a definite conclusion. Saying VI agrees exactly with Lk. vi.42. Sayings VII-IX show no direct connection with any canonical Gospel, though VII, with its "fast", "sabbath", "find the Kingdom of God", is quite Synoptic in tone. Saying X recalls Mt. xviii.20, οὗ γὰρ εἰσι οὗο ἡ τρεῖς συνημεύοντες εἰς τὸ ἐμὸν ὄνομα, ἐκαὶ εἰσι ἐν μέτρῳ αὐτῶν, though it diverges from it markedly. Saying XI is undoubtedly connected with Luke alone, as is indicated by the use of ἰατρός and the arrangement of the physician proverb (Lk. iv.23-24). Saying XII is a variant of Mt. v.14.

We see therefore that (1) there is no clear trace of Markan influence in the Sayings; (2) nearly all the Sayings having canonical parallels are to be connected with the non-Markan sections of Matthew-Luke; (3) Johannine influence is wanting.

What then is the nature of this collection? Three main views are held on this point:

(1) They may be a genuine and independent collection; that is, they may contain previously oral tradition, and be independent of other written documents.

(2) They may be based ultimately upon the New Testament, in which case they have been depraved by an accretion of new matter.

(3) They may be a thesaurus, derived from one or more of the extracanonical Gospels.

The first position is that held by Grenfell and

Hunt themselves. The view is based upon two considerations: (1) The Sayings evince a strong primitive element and setting; they contain no obvious traces of bias in favor of any particular sect; they diverge widely from the canonical Gospels, in many instances where there are parallels with them. These facts combine to set the Sayings apart from most of the known extracanonical Gospels of the second century, and to refer them back to a period prior to the general acceptance of the canonical Four. (2) The reference to Thomas in 654 renders derivation from an extracanonical Gospel precarious, since a fraud of this kind, if it existed, would surely have been detected.⁶

Now without doubt there is a strong primitive element in the Sayings, particularly as compared with most known extracanonical Gospels. But the evidence of primitivity as compared with the canonical Gospels is less strong. Moreover, the Prologue to 654 does not certainly ascribe the source of the Sayings to Thomas, as the discoverers think. Nor were they, on any interpretation, all addressed to Thomas exclusively, for sometimes the address is in the second person singular, sometimes it is in the second person plural, and sometimes it is quite neutral.

Sanday⁷ believed the Sayings to be the work of a single mind, starting usually from a genuine word of Jesus, but working it up in a sense of its own. But he considered direct literary dependence upon the canonical Gospels improbable.⁸

The points made by Sanday and by the discoverers are well taken. But the conclusions derived from them do not disprove the literary dependence of the Sayings upon some Gospel. And that there was such dependence seems inevitable when we note the double fact that the correspondences with Matthew-Luke, when they occur, are very close and often extend to minute points, and that the divergences in every case seem to give new and particular directions to the sayings.

There remain but two alternatives. Either the collection is wholly spurious, the literary invention of some early second century writer, or else it is culled from one or more of the extracanonial Gospels.

As to the first alternative, it should be recalled that any independent collection, genuine or spurious, will show no traces of contexts of the passages which go to make it up: the latter will be complete, self-contained units. But if a collection consist of extracts, some sayings will perhaps be self-contained, but others will certainly show remains of the contexts from which they are taken. These Sayings from Oxyrhynchus evince just such traces of contexts in their sources. Saying I is internally complete, though we know that in actual fact it is an extract from the Hebrew Gospel.⁹ Saying II is very mutilated, but the opening sentence is apparently a question, and implies a preceding discourse in which a reference to οἱ ἑταῖροι was made, and which led to the question. Saying III has all the appearance

of derivation from a narrative like one or other of the Synoptic incidents dealing with seeking for precedence. Saying IV is evidently addressed to an individual; this mark of precision would hardly have subsisted in an independent saying. As to V, Grenfell and Hunt remark that the presence of a context, necessary to explain the saying, may be taken therefore equally as proof or as disproof of extraction.¹⁰ Yet the better supposition is that the passage is an extract: the verb ἐπερωτᾷ is very forcible,¹¹ meaning "strictly examine", rather than simply "ask". Apparently there was a context representing something said or done by Jesus which was difficult or mysterious to the disciples, and which led them to ask about fasting, prayer, and ritual observance.¹² The use of the second person singular in VI could be rhetorical, but this cannot apply to XIII. There, as in IV, it is evident that an individual is addressed. The remainder of the sayings are neutral in this respect, but with seven of the thirteen showing marks of loss of context, the strong presumption is that the collection comprises extracts.

This being so, we have now to inquire what the source of the collection was. It cannot, of course, have been one or more of the canonical Gospels. M. R. James at one time suggested that the sources were two or more in number,¹³ but he has apparently abandoned that view.¹⁴ And, indeed, such a position, without indication as to what the several sources were, cannot be maintained in the face of the evident homogeneity of the collection in style, in

composition, and in level of thought.

Four extracanoncal and apocryphal Gospels have at various times, and by various scholars, been considered as possible sources for the Sayings.

Zahn held that the collection was derived from the Gospel of the Ebionites.¹⁴ He saw a connection between Saying VII and a passage quoted by Epiphanius.¹⁵ But the teaching of the Oxyrhynchus passage is diametrically opposed to Ebionites; and the Christology of Saying X is incompatible with the religious position of that Gospel.

The discoverers offered as a suggested source the Gospel of Thomas. Their reasons for the identification were two: that in the Prologue the source is attributed to Thomas; and that Saying II, "the Kingdom of Heaven is within you," subsisted in some form in the Gospel of Thomas. Unfortunately for the theory, both of these considerations are probably mistaken. The attribution of the source of the collection to Thomas depends on a particular and wholly unnecessary¹⁶ restoration of the text. The second of the discoverers' reasons is also to be rejected. The only support for it is in the words of Hippolytus:¹⁷

"But they [the Naassenes] assert that not only is there in favor of their doctrine testimony to be drawn from the mysteries of the Assyrians, but also from those of the Phrygians concerning the happy nature, concealed and yet at the same time disclosed, of things that have been and are coming into existence and moreover will be, [a happy nature] which, [the Naassene] says, is the Kingdom of Heaven to be sought for within a man. And concerning this [nature] they hand down an explicit passage occurring in the Gospel inscribed according to Thomas, expressing themselves thus: He who seeks me will find me in children from seven years

old; for there concealed I shall in the fourteenth age be made manifest."

But these words give no ground for supposing that ἡ ἐν τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ βασιλεία is anything but a reference to Lk. xvii.20. Moreover, the known recensions of the Gospel of Thomas are entirely evangelia infantiae, and there is no evidence that the Gospel at any time had a wider scope than this. The saying about the Kingdom could not have come from a childhood incident. Furthermore, the word actually quoted by Hippolytus, ἐπεὶ ὁ Ἰησοῦς εὐφράται ἐν παιδίοις ἀπὸ ἐτῶν ἑπτά, is quite unlike the Oxyrhynchus Saying, as it is unlike the Lukan passage. It indicates that in its original form the document used by the Naassenes dealt only with the Childhood.

Taylor worked out some parallels between Sayings VI-XIII and one of the recensions of the Gospel of Thomas,¹⁸ though he himself thought the former to be from the Gospel according to the Egyptians. But it is apparent that the Gospel of Thomas was a Childhood Gospel in which most of the Sayings could not have appeared; and furthermore, the relevant passages in that document are so few and so remote, and their contexts are so unsuited to most of the Sayings, that they can at best be no more than reminiscences due to the Sayings or to their source. For example, Taylor connects Saying VIII with the passage in the Gospel of Thomas:¹⁹ οὐκ
καρποφορεῖτε τὰ ῥῆ, καὶ βλέπετε οἱ τυφλοὶ τῇ καρδίᾳ.

But can any resources of imagination lead to a serious contention that the two are equivalent, or that one replaces

the other?

Harnack,²⁰ Badham,²¹ and Taylor²² have maintained that the Sayings are from the Gospel according to the Egyptians. Harnack recognizes that the collection comprises extracts, and from a Gospel of Synoptic type. Then he argues that the Sayings resemble the citations of Pseudo-Clement in their well-defined relationship with Matthew-Luke; since, therefore, he ascribes the Pseudo-Clementine citations to the Egyptian Gospel, the reasonable supposition is that the Oxyrhynchus Logia are likewise to be assigned thereto. Harnack is undoubtedly correct in seeing a strong relationship between the present Sayings and those of 2 Clement. But, as was seen in the last chapter, his identification of Pseudo-Clement's source with Egyptians rested on a supposed derivation of 2 Clem. xii.2 from that Gospel. It has been shown that the latter identification cannot be maintained; hence the ascription of the Pseudo-Clementine citations to Egyptians is without foundation; and therefore, in turn, Harnack's ascription of the Oxyrhynchus Logia to Egyptians is to be rejected, for he adduces no other evidence to support his belief.

Badham's argument is somewhat different from that of Harnack. "In their seeming Gnosticism, their asceticism, the country where this papyrus was discovered, and, above all, some remarkable points of contact with the Pistis Sophia and allied works, no other source than the Egyptian Gospel seems possible." The geographical argument can be allowed no

weight whatever. Up to the present time many fragments of Gospels have been found in Egypt, but not a single one which can be surely assigned to the Egyptian Gospel. As has been previously noted,²³ the ascriptions $\kappa\chi\theta'$ 'Εβραίου; and $\kappa\chi\theta'$ Αιγυπτίου; are sectarian, not geographical; the former Gospel is held to have been used by Jews not because of its title, but because on other grounds it is known to have been used by Jews. There is no evidence that the Gospel according to the Egyptians was popular among Egyptian people. Badham's allegation of asceticism may be rejected with equal assurance. The "fast toward the world" of Saying VII means simply abstention from sin, which is symbolized in the ritual of fasting. And Saying V regards the rite as one of normal religious observance, to be practised unostentatiously and sincerely. Lastly, Badham sees Gnosticism in VIII, saying, "Christ refers back to the days of His flesh in a way which distinctly implies some occasion between the Resurrection and Ascension. . . . From the Pistis Sophia and Irenaeus we know what an attraction the Gnostics found in this interval." This is surely not a strong argument: the mere fact that the Saying might be post-Resurrectional and that the Gnostics were interested in that period is far from showing that the Saying is Gnostic. But further, the words would be peculiarly inappropriate to the interim between Resurrection and Ascension. Could Jesus have then said, "My soul grieveth over the sons of men"? There is nothing of this

nature in any known account of the Resurrection period, nor is there any case of condemnation of mankind during that time. The words $\xi\sigma\tau\eta\nu$ and $\xi\pi\theta\eta\nu$ must surely refer to past acts, not to past states. The Saying is quite out of place as a part of the period to which Badham would assign it. Rather, it is admirably fitted to the Synoptic picture of the days immediately preceding the Passion, when Jesus could say, "Woe unto thee, Chorazin and Bethsaida!" "Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites!" "Jerusalem, Jerusalem, how oft would I have gathered you . . . but ye would not!"

In connection with the ascription of the Sayings to the Gospel according to the Egyptians there is finally to be noticed the view of Robinson,²⁴ who assigns not all of the Sayings, but only VII and X, to that Gospel. He notices that Clement of Alexandria, in defending marriage against certain extreme ascetics,²⁵ refers to Mt. xviii.20, "Where two or three are gathered" etc. Clement interprets the Three as husband, wife and child, and uses it to answer an objection based on a word similar to Saying X. Further on in the same discussion, Clement mentions Julius Cassianus as quoting the Salome dialogue from the Gospel according to the Egyptians. Later he cites Is. lvi.4ff., which deals with eunuchs and their sabbath observance. And he concludes with an allegorical interpretation of the eunuchs as keeping the sabbath by not sinning. "Blessed are they," he concludes, "who fast from the world." Robinson says that Clement is probably

dealing with not one but three quotations from the Egyptian Gospel. This may be so, but it does not require the assignment of VII and X thereto. Indeed, for Clement's argument to make sense at all, it must imply that the Egyptian passage contained something about three being gathered together - but this number does not appear in Saying X. The Egyptian saying would have gone beyond X, and therefore cannot be identified with it. Doubtless Egyptians itself referred back to the Matthean passage. As was the case with 2 Clem. xii.2, the Egyptian passage is more extended and developed than the one with which we deal. Furthermore, it is unlikely that Clement's blessing on those who fast from the world is a quotation of Saying VII. Not only is the sense of Clement's passage altogether later than that of the Logion: the latter is in fact a converse of the former, only condemning those who do not fast from the world, not blessing those who do.

To summarize the argument: The passages in the Sayings which have been taken to correspond with passages from the Gospel according to the Egyptians cannot be identified with these passages. And while the Egyptian Gospel was Gnostic and Encratite to a high degree, the Sayings are Synoptic, and show no Encratite or Gnostic traits. This Gospel, therefore, is certainly not the source of the Sayings.

Of the four extracanonical Gospels, Ebionites, Thomas, Egyptians and Hebrews, the first three are eliminated

as possible sources for the Oxyrhynchus Sayings. What then of GH?

In the first place, two of the Sayings are immediately to be connected with the Hebrew Gospel, viz., I and IV. The first of these is almost identical with GH fragment 27.²⁶ As to IV, the use of the second person singular distinguishes it from the canonical accounts of the Mission Charge, and connects it closely with 2 Clem. v.2-4, which, as was concluded in the last chapter, belongs to GH.

Second, the relation of the Sayings to the canonical Gospels is quite like the relation of GH thereto. As was seen above,²⁷ I, III, IV and XII are connected with canonical material peculiar to Matthew-Luke, that is, with Q. Sayings II, VI and XI are connected with material peculiar to Luke, that is, to L. Possible approaches to M exist in V and X, but in each case the differences from M are at least as remarkable as the resemblances. There is no evident Markan influence in any of the Sayings, nor is there any demonstrable Johannism. These relationships, alike in their nature and in their relative proportions, are almost identical with the conditions previously noted in the Gospel according to the Hebrews.

Third, we have to notice the new matter of the Sayings. Ancient writers found not many occasions to quote from GH apophthegms of the order of these Logia, so that we cannot be sure how far the new matter of the Sayings is comparable with what stood in GH. But in all probability

the two are of the same order. Saying I, the strongest link between the Sayings and GH, is wholly new. The previously considered fragments of narrative and discourse from GH show new matter or new arrangements to an extent which makes reasonable the inference that its apophthegms exhibited a like quality. Not having many short sayings from GH, we cannot be certain as to how extensively the Gospel used parallelism, though some instances of it have been noted.²⁸ In the Sayings this feature is very noticeable, no doubt because it was the form in which short maxims were given in their sources. Now parallelism is a prominent feature of the Synoptic Gospels, but in the Oxyrhynchus Sayings it is found when it does not occur in the canonical parallels. It would seem that only a Semite writing for Semites would have used such a form so freely.

Fourth, the Sayings seem to exhibit an interest in Jewish institutions in a manner pointing to an essentially Jewish source. Thus, in V the question(s) asked by the disciples would hardly interest Gentiles, but would be of first moment to Jews. Saying VII deals with purely Jewish institutions - a consideration which would be strengthened by the conjecture of Cersey,²⁹ that here τὸν κόρου is an error of translation, and should be τὸν νηστειῶν: this would relate the passage to the Day of Atonement; and one of GH's chief characteristics, according to Eusebius,³⁰ was attachment to the Law.

Fifth, in addition to the instance just noted, there are several passages containing possible traces of an Aramaic original. In X, the injunction to "raise the stone" may be a mistranslation of the Aramaic meaning to "hew the stone". In XI, $\mu\omicron\upsilon\epsilon\tilde{\iota}\ \theta\epsilon\rho\alpha\pi\epsilon\acute{\iota}\chi\varsigma$ suggests an Aramaic original; and $\gamma\iota\nu\acute{\omega}\sigma\kappa\omicron\nu\tau\iota\chi\varsigma\ \chi\acute{\upsilon}\tau\omicron\nu$ may be a mistake of translation from the Aramaic meaning $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\delta\varsigma\ \gamma\nu\omega\sigma\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma\ \chi\acute{\upsilon}\tau\omicron\upsilon$. The frequent use of $\alpha\chi\lambda$ is Semitic. Semitic also are the idioms $\mu\omicron\upsilon\epsilon\tilde{\iota}\ \epsilon\pi\acute{\iota}$ and $\upsilon\phi\omicron\lambda\ \acute{\alpha}\nu\theta\rho\acute{\omega}\pi\omicron\nu$ in VIII.³¹ Of course, doubt attaches to all these cases; and the very fact that so many are seen in so small a compass may indicate that we are here on dangerous ground. Nevertheless, in connection with other matters already noted and to follow, the points are suggestive.

Sixth, the Sayings seem to make frequent use of Jewish literature. In II, the mention of birds, beasts and fishes as symbols of spiritual fact may recall Job xii.7-8 or Ps. viii, though much depends on the restoration. In VIII, the first lines are a messianic adaptation of Bar. iii.28; the use of $\delta\iota\psi\acute{\alpha}\nu$ and $\mu\epsilon\theta\acute{\upsilon}\epsilon\iota\nu$ in a spiritual sense recalls Is. lv.1, xxiii.1; the words $\mu\omicron\upsilon\epsilon\tilde{\iota}\ \eta\ \psi\upsilon\chi\acute{\eta}$ recall Is. liii.10. The first part of X suggests a passage from the Pirke Aboth:³²

"When ten sit and are occupied in the words of the Torah, the Shechina is among them. . . And whence [is it proved] of even three? . . . And whence even two? . . . And whence even one? Because it is said, In all places where I record my name, I will come unto thee and I will bless thee."

The last part of X is surely related to Eccl. x.9. The divergence of XII from the canonical records of the saying is

undoubtedly due to Is. ii.2, and may also be reminiscent of Is. xxviii.4. These characteristics are entirely to be expected if the source of the Sayings was a Gospel of Jewish origin. And they are altogether like qualities of GH which have already been noted. We may review a few examples of the latter. Fragment 4b, on the Descent of the Spirit, is in all probability inspired by Is. xi.2, Ps. ii.7 and lxxxix.27; it also recalls Ps. cxxxii.14: "This is my rest for ever; here will I dwell, for I have desired it." This habit of giving messianic turns to passages from Jewish literature is quite like the use of Bar. iii.28 in Saying VIII. Fragment 5, on the carrying away to Mount Tabor, recalls Eze. viii.3; it may also be an imitation of Bel and the Dragon v. 36: "Then the angel of the Lord took him by the crown, and lifted him up by the hair of his head, and with the blast of his breath set him in Babylon over the den;" the reference to Mount Tabor may have been suggested by Ps. lxxxix.12, or Jer. xlv.18.³³ Fragment 17, on the breaking of the lintel of the Temple, was, as has already been pointed out, due to Is. vi.4. The Sayings are therefore similar to GH in their use of Jewish literature. This is without doubt one of the strongest links in the whole chain of argument.

The case, then for the ascription of the Sayings to the Gospel according to the Hebrews is all but conclusive. To review the argument: Four Gospels, Ebionites, Thomas, Egyptians and Hebrews, are all that have been seriously

considered as possible sources for the Sayings. But ascription to any of the first three is impossible. This negative argument in favor of GH as the source is supported by the strongest possible positive evidence. The only Saying for which we have an exact extracanonical parallel finds this in GH - Saying I; and IV is to be connected with GH on internal grounds. The relationships of the Sayings and of GH to the canonical Gospels is the same, in the absence of any identifiable dependence on Mark or M; in the presence of Q and L material in about the same proportions; and in the presence of slight Johannine tendencies without, however, any evidence of dependence on the Fourth Gospel. As far as can be judged, the new matter in the Sayings is of the same order as that in GH, both as to content and as to literary structure. In their interest in matters of chief concern to Jewish converts the Sayings postulate a Semitic source. They do so also in the presence of Semitic idioms and syntax, and in possible traces of an Aramaic original. And finally, the Sayings are exactly parallel to GH in their use of Jewish literature, both as to method and as to extent. Thus the entire mass of evidence, considerable in extent and of every variety, points to the Hebrew Gospel as the source of the Oxyrhynchus Sayings.

In the following discussion of individual passages, the system of enumeration hitherto followed will be continued.

It is not practicable to note all the attempts

which have been made to restore the Sayings.³⁴ In some cases the lacunae are so great that they must be retained in the GH text. However, when a restoration makes good sense, and is otherwise fairly well supported, it is best from the standpoint of practical usefulness of the Gospel to include it.

Oxyrhynchus Papyrus 654, Prologue. Following is

Evelyn White's restoration:

οὗτοι οἱ /οι/ λόγοι οἱ [ζωοποιοὶ οὗς ἐλά-]
λησεν Ἰη(σοῦ)ς ὃ ζῶν κ[αὶ ὁφθαλμοὶ τοῖς δέκκ]α
καὶ θαυμῶ. καὶ εἶπεν [αὐτοῖς· πᾶς ὅστις]
ἂν τῶν λόγων τούτ[ων ἀκούσῃ, θανάτου]
οὐ μὴ γεύσεται.

The first line does not concern this thesis. For a defense of the brilliant conjecture of the second line, the reader is referred to White's discussion.³⁵ The restoration recalls Mk. xvi.11: κἀκεῖνοι ἀκούσαντες ὅτι ζῆ καὶ ἐθαίθη ὑπ' αὐτοῦς ἠπίστησαν, and Acts 1.3: παρεστήσαν ἐκυστὸν ζῶντα . . . ὁπτανόμενος αὐτοῖς, in each of which the statement that Jesus lives is followed immediately by citation of proof on the ground that he has been seen by so and so. The reference to Thomas is also reasonable in that Jn. xx.26 puts an appearance to this disciple immediately after an appearance to the Ten; further, the latter may be the same as that of GH fragment 19. It is therefore possible that GH contained an account of the appearance to Thomas. Few differences are to be found amongst the various reconstructions of the second part of the Prologue, and White's rendering is probably correct in all

essentials.

While, as has been seen, the compiler of the Sayings may have got his information for the Prologue from another source, it is entirely possible that this too was drawn from GH. There is no a priori reason why it should not have been. If the above restoration is correct, the mention of an appearance to the Ten renders the supposition reasonable.

66. καὶ ὁφθῇ θωμᾷ.

67. [καὶ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς·] Ἡὲς ὅστις ἂν τῶν
λόγων τούτων ἀκούσῃ, θανάτου οὐ μὴ γεύσῃται.

The expression θανάτου γεύσῃται is Synoptic. Cp. Mt. xvi.28, Mk. ix.1, Lk. ix.27, where, however, the context is different from this fragment. Cp. also Jn. viii.51-52, which has somewhat the same sense as the fragment, but is expressed differently.

Ox. Pap. 654, ll. 5-9. The saying has already been discussed many times as GH fragment 27,³⁶ and need not detain us at the present time.

Ox. Pap. 654, ll. 9-21. Of all the passages found on the two famous papyrus leaves, by far the most difficult to restore has been this one. All of the restorations hitherto suggested³⁷ seem to suffer from a series of common faults. Nearly all present the appearance of "padding", and are without that brilliance and succinctness which are characteristic alike of the other Oxyrhynchus Sayings and of Jesus' words as recorded in the New Testament. Very few

make more than tolerably good sense. And all seem to lack the elusive but none the less real quality of life which we are accustomed to meet in the words of the Master.

To criticise adversely the work of another is easier than to offer a better substitute. Nevertheless, it is not amiss to make some suggestions as to how such a restoration may be carried out.

(1) Hitherto, the attempt has been made to follow the lead of suggestive New Testament passages. In theory, this is wholly commendable. But when, as in the present case, there is obviously no canonical counterpart to the passage under consideration, too great reliance must not be placed in such procedure.

(2) The suggestion is offered, which apparently has not hitherto been considered, that we are here dealing not with one, but with two sayings, viz., ll. 9-16 and ll. 16-21. The points which favor such a supposition are as follows: This passage is very much longer than any other Saying on either papyrus, being two or three times as long as most of them. Further, the first part (ll. 9-16) plays continually upon birds, beasts and fishes, heaven, earth and sea, whereas not one of these words appears in the second part (ll. 16-21). The Kingdom is twice mentioned in the first part, but is not found in the second part. On the other hand, the verb $\gamma\iota\nu\acute{o}\mu\alpha\iota$ occurs three times in the second part, but not at all in the first part. The first part does not contain the verb $\epsilon\upsilon\lambda\acute{o}\gamma\eta\iota$ which occurs in the

second part, and six more times in the unrestored text of the other Sayings. Finally, the first part would conclude with the words ἡ βασιλεία . . . ἐν τῷ ὑμῶν ἔστιν. The only canonical parallel to these words is in Lk. xvii.21, and there they conclude both the saying and the incident. It is therefore likely that there is a complete change of subject in passing from ll. 9-16 to ll. 16-21, and this in turn indicates that the two parts comprise separate sayings.

The only objection to this theory is that in the original text a paragraphus was used to separate the various Sayings, whereas none appears between ll. 16 and 17. But it so happens that the suggested division comes at a particularly mutilated part of the papyrus.³⁸ In fact, four rather large holes appear in l. 16. Yet there is actually some kind of mark in the margin below that line. Since the papyrus was apparently creased in this particular place, it is not surprising that a paragraphus, if it existed, should have become erased beyond recognition.

(3) Lk. xvii.21 has ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ. The last two words are probably Luke's own alteration of τῶν οὐρανῶν, for this was the usual Semitic expression. Therefore for l. 15 is proposed the restoration: -]τες ὑμεῖς καὶ ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν. This is about two letters shorter than the average restored line of the papyrus.

(4) Special attention should be given to the parallelism between ἐαυτοὺς γινώσκετε . . . : ἔστε ὑμεῖς and γινῶσ(ε)τε ἐαυτούς . . . ὑμεῖς εστε, ll. 18-19, 20-21.

This must be a case of (rhetorical) question and answer, or of antithetic parallelism. The injunction to "know yourselves" has no exact parallel in the New Testament. We may compare 1 Cor. xiii.12; also Job xxxiv.4.

(5) The phrase τοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ in l. 19 suggests the common Synoptic, and especially Matthean, expression, τοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς.

(6) The last three letters of the passage are ηπτ. Most attempts at restoration have taken η to be an article or a conjunction. However, the scribe was fairly consistent in separating his words, and these letters are connected. It is therefore better if possible to keep them together in the restoration. Heinrici suggests ἡπτημένοι. Since the τ is doubtful, other possibilities are ἡπίτηκη, ἡπεδχνός, ἡπεροπευτής, ἡπιος.

In line with these suggestions the following restoration is offered, though of course finality is not claimed for it.

68. λέγει ἰ[η(σοῦ)ς· πῶς λέγουσι(ν)]
οἱ ἔλκοντες ἡμᾶς [εἰς τὰ κριτήρια, ὅτι]
ἡ βασιλεία ἐν οὐρανῷ ἐστίν; μήτι δύναι(ν)ται]
τὰ πετεινὰ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἐπιγνώσκειν,]
τὸ ὑπὸ τὴν γῆν ἐστ[ιν; καὶ τὸ ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ]
οἱ ἰχθύες τῆς θαλάσσης; οὕτως οἱ ἔλκον-]
τες ὑμᾶς. καὶ ἡ βασι[λεία τῶν οὐρανῶν]
ἐντὸς ὑμῶν [ἐ]στι[ν].

For this part, Deissmann's reconstruction is followed in the main, but with modifications suggested above.

Deissmann would connect the passage with the Mission Charge.

Cp. especially Mt. x.17ff.

69. λέγει Ἰη(σοῦ)ς· ὅς δ' ἄν]
 γνῶ ταύτην εὐρή[σῃ τὴν βασιλείαν. ὥς δὲ]
 ἑαυτοὺς γνῶσθαι [. . . οὕτως καὶ γνῶτοί]
 ἔστε ὑμεῖς τοῦ πικτοῦ τοῦ [ἐν οὐρανοῖς. εἰ δὲ μὴ]
 γνῶν(ε)σθε ἑαυτοὺς, ἐν [τῇ βασιλείᾳ οὐ κοινωνήσθε]
 καὶ ὑμεῖς ἔστε ἡπε[δανοί.

At first glance, the lines of this part of the restoration appear too long, but they are not so in reality. Thus, Ἰη(σοῦ)ς is written in full, whereas in the papyrus it would have appeared as Ἰῆϣ. In the fourth line, the scribe has inserted ὑμεῖς above the line. In the fifth line, γνῶν(ε)σθε is written out in full, which was not done on the papyrus.

The chief fault of this restoration is that no antecedent appears for ταύτην. But at the most, this simply implies a loss of context, which is a condition in others of the Sayings as well (e.g. Sayings IIa, III, V, XIII).

Ox. Pap. 654, ll. 21-27. Following is the restoration suggested by the discoverers themselves:³⁹

[λέγει Ἰη(σοῦ)ς·]
 οὐκ ἀποκνήσκει ἄνθ[ρῳπος]
 ρων ἐπερωτῆσαι πα[.]
 ρων περὶ τοῦ τόπου τῆ[ς βασιλείας. εἰδὴ-]
 στετε ὅτι πολλοὶ ἔσονται π[ρῶτοι ἔσχατοι καὶ]
 οἱ ἔσχατοι πρῶτοι καὶ [ζῶν αἰῶνιον ἔξου-]
 σιν.

White has:⁴⁰ λέγει Ἰησοῦς· οὐκ ἀποκνήσκει ἄνθρωπος

τὴν ὁδὸν εὐὸν ἐπερωτῆται πάντα . . . δεικνὺν περὶ τοῦ τόπου
 τῆς κηθέσεως; εὐοῆτε ὅτι πολλοὶ ἔσονται πρῶτοι ἔσχατοι,
 καὶ οἱ ἔσχατοι πρῶτοι· καὶ ζῶν κληρονομήσουσιν. Since
 εὐοεῖν is a common word in these Sayings, it is probably
 better than the discoverers' εἰδοῆτε. Also, since in the
 canonical Gospels Jesus does not often introduce discussions
 of ζῶν χιόνιον, White's last word is an improvement. But
 the total effect of his reconstruction is one of unintelligi-
 bility.

Deissmann's restoration is hardly better: ἄνθρωπος
 κληθεὶς τάρων ἐπερωτῆται πάντως ἕνα τῶν κλητόων περὶ τοῦ
 τόπου τῆς δοχῆς ποῦ ἀνγκλιθῆται. ὅτι πολλοὶ ἔσονται πρῶτοι
 ἔσχατοι καὶ οἱ ἔσχατοι πρῶτοι καὶ δοῦν εὐοῆσουσιν.⁴¹ The
 last clause would sound strange on the lips of Jesus.

Despite the unfilled lacunae, the restoration by
 the discoverers seems best. The gaps do not destroy the
 general drift of the Saying, and the reconstruction has the
 advantage of not inserting words that are without parallel
 in Christian literature. Their text is altered in conformity
 with the two above mentioned improvements by White.

70. οὐκ ἰποκνήσει ἄνθρωπος . . . ἐπερωτῆται
 . . . περὶ τοῦ τόπου τῆς [βασιλείας. εὐοῆ]τε
 ὅτι πολλοὶ ἔσονται [πρῶτοι ἔσχατοι, καὶ] οἱ
 ἔσχατοι πρῶτοι καὶ [ζῶν κληρονομήσου]σιν.

The saying, "The last shall be first and the first
 last," occurs in Mt. xix.30 = Mk. x.31 = Lk. xiii.30, where
 Luke, like GH, is fuller than Matthew-Mark. The words appear

also in Mt. xx.16.

Ox. Pap. 654, ll. 27-31. There are no important differences between various restorations, and, in fact, the text does not admit of much controversy.

Though the first part of the Saying is new, it may be compared with Jn. xii.7: ὁ ἐγὼ ποιεῖ τὸ οὐκ οἶδης ὅτι, γνώσῃ δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα.

The second part has two canonical parallels, one from Mark and the other from Q, both of them being in Luke:

(1) Mk. iv.22: οὐ γὰρ ἐστὶ τι κρυπτόν ἐάν μὴ ἵνα φανερωθῇ, οὐδὲ ἐγένετο ἰπόκρυτον ἀλλ' ἵνα εἰς φανερόν ἐλθῇ. Lk. viii.17: οὐ γὰρ ἐστὶ κρυπτόν ὃ οὐ φανερόν γενήσεται, οὐδὲ ἰπόκρυτον ὃ οὐ μὴ γνωσθῇ καὶ εἰς φανερόν ἐλθῇ.

(2) Mt. x.26: οὐδὲν γὰρ ἐστὶ κεκλυμμένον ὃ οὐκ ἀποκλυψθήσεται καὶ κρυπτόν ὃ οὐ γνωσθήσεται. Lk. xii.2: οὐδὲν δὲ συγκεκλυμμένον ἐστὶν ὃ οὐκ ἀποκλυψθήσεται καὶ κρυπτόν ὃ οὐ γνωσθήσεται.

Even if the discoverers' κεκλυμμένον⁴² be preferred to White's κεκλυμμένον, it is apparent that the Saying is closer to Q than to Mark. Not only do the lengths of the lacunae favor the passives γενήσεται and ἐγερθήσεται, bringing the text close to Q in its general atmosphere, but we have also the word ἀποκλυψθήσεται. It is notable that the only close approach to the Markan form, φανε[ρόν γενήσεται], is like the Lukan statement thereof. Since Luke could well have been influenced here by Q-L, it is probable that Mark should be left out of consideration altogether,

the Saying being allocated either to Q or to L.

What might have been the context of the Saying? Group (2) above is from the Mission Charge, so that if the present passage is an extract (as is most probable), it is reasonable to connect it with the Charge. Yet the last clause of the Saying indicates circumstances not wholly Synoptic in nature. The use of the second person singular, together with the striking character of this final clause, makes it probable that the context comprised a particular situation, in which an individual was addressed.⁴³

We cannot be sure, of course, what this particular situation was. But White makes an interesting attempt to recover the context, arguing as follows:⁴⁴ The closest canonical parallels to the Saying are in the Mission Charge. But in neither the Matthean nor the Lukan version of the Charge is any individual prominent, whereas the Saying is apparently addressed to an individual. Now 2 Clement preserves an interesting version of part of this Charge,⁴⁵ which differs markedly from the canonical accounts, especially in introducing Peter. The Pseudo-Clementine fragment is a dialogue; the present passage appears to come from a dialogue, and may well be a continuation of the conversation recorded in 2 Clement. White notes the remarkable words in 2 Clement, "those that kill you and can do nothing to you," and supposes that the Gospel continued:

ἀποκτείνουσιν σε ὁ δὲ θάνατος λέγει· Κύριε, πῶς λέγεις τοῦς

ἀποκτείνοντες ἡμᾶς ἀπεὶν ἡμῖν δύνανται ποιεῖν; to which Jesus' reply would be: ὁ ἐγὼ λέγω τὸ οὐκ οἶδης ὅτι, γνώστη δὲ μετὰ τούτων. πᾶν τὸ γὰρ μὴ ἐμπροσθεν τῆς ὀψείας σου κτλ.

While all this is no more than a guess, it seems to be a good guess, picturing as it does a very fitting occasion for the final clause of the Saying, and otherwise fulfilling requirements of the previous considerations.

71. πᾶν τὸ μὴ ἐμπροσθεν τῆς ὀψείας σου, καὶ τὸ κεκλυμμένον ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀποκλυθῆσθαι σοι· οὐ γὰρ ἐστὶν κρυπτόν ὃ οὐ φανερόν γενήσεται, καὶ τεθχυμένον ὃ οὐκ ἐγερθήσεται.

Ox. Pap. 654, ll. 32-42. The Saying is broken

beyond hope of recovery; small confidence can be placed in the many attempts to restore it. Ll. 32, 33 and 35 are fairly certain: ~~ἐπιτυχίαι~~ is not likely in view of what follows, nor would the reading οἱ μετὰ τὴν ἰαίνου be reasonable, since John had already taught his disciples concerning prayer and fasting.⁴⁶ Again, ll. 33-34, [προσευχόμε]μεθα is probably correct, since fasting and prayer usually went together. In ll. 35-36, ἀποδοθέντων is suggested by Mk. vii.9, coupled with the fact that GH contained the exhortation of which that verse is a part.⁴⁷ In ll. 38, 39 the word ἀποκτενο[υμένης] suggests the injunctions of Mt. vi.2ff., though it is evident from the word ἀληθείας that the reply of Jesus was not the same as the sayings there recorded.

As has been noted, the verb ἐπατάξουσιν is very strong, and indicates a context in which something occurred

at was difficult for the disciples. Jesus' answer then seems to have comprised a series of short injunctions, which might well have concluded with, "Blessed is he that doeth these things."⁴⁸

72. ἐξετίζουσιν αὐτὸν οἱ [μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ
καὶ] λέγουσιν· Πῶς νηστεύομεν [καὶ
πῶς προσευξόμεθα καὶ πῶς . . . καὶ τί
προσχωροῦμεν [τῶν προσχωρούντων]; λέγει
Ἰησοῦς· . . . τῆς ἀληθείας . . .
ἀποκεκρυ- . . . μακάριός ἐστιν ὁ . . .
ἐστιν . . .

Ox. Pap. 1, ll. 1-3. This is the first Saying on the papyrus discovered in 1897.

The saying occurs in Mt. vii.3-5 and Lk. vi.41-42. The Oxyrhynchus passage is identical with the TR rendering of Lk. vi.42, even to the detail of τὸ ἐν τῷ ὀφθαλμῷ instead of Matthew's ἐκ τοῦ ὀφθαλμοῦ. It is therefore reasonable to suppose that the entire GH passage was similar to Luke.

73. τί δὲ βλέπεis τὸ κάρφος τὸ ἐν τῷ
ὀφθαλμῷ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ σου, τὴν δὲ δοκὸν τὴν
ἐν τῷ ἰδίῳ ὀφθαλμῷ οὐ κατανοεῖς; ἢ πῶς
δύνασαι λέγειν τῷ ἀδελφῷ σου· Ἀδελφε,
ἔλας ἐκβάλλω τὸ κάρφος τὸ ἐν τῷ ὀφθαλμῷ
σου, αὐτὸς τὴν ἐν τῷ ὀφθαλμῷ σου δοκὸν οὐ
βλέπων; ὑποκριτὰ, ἔκβαλε πρῶτον τὴν δοκὸν
ἐκ τοῦ ὀφθαλμοῦ σου, καὶ τότε διαβλέψεις
ἐκβαλεῖν τὸ κάρφος τὸ ἐν τῷ ὀφθαλμῷ τοῦ
ἀδελφοῦ σου.

Ox. Pap. 1, ll. 4-11. With this Saying the following

passages may be compared:

Pistis Sophia:⁴⁹ ἰποτάσσεται κόσμῳ omni et ὅλῃ omni.

Paul and Thecla #V: μικροὶ οἱ ὑποτασσόμενοι τῷ
κόσμῳ τούτῳ.

Clement of Alexandria, Strom. iii.15,99: μικροὶ
. . . οἱ τοῦ κόσμου νηπτεύοντες. - οὕτως καὶ ἡμεῖς τῶν
κοσμικῶν νηπτεύειν χρῆ.

From these it is evident that the concept embodied in the Oxyrhynchus Saying was not unknown to early Christianity. On the other hand, the only one of the three that is really close to the Saying is from Clement of Alexandria, who himself made frequent use of the Hebrew Gospel, and so could have been influenced by it in this case. The evidence for supposing that the concept was well-known in early Christianity is therefore slender.

A disposition of the Saying that is superior in every way comes from Cersoy.⁵⁰ This has been mentioned previously, but deserves consideration here. The Aramaic words for κόσμον and νηπτεύειν are so nearly alike that confusion of the two would be the easiest matter conceivable. If, then, the Sayings or their source comprise a version of an Aramaic original, a second century translator could easily make this mistake. The correction of κόσμον to νηπτεύειν has the advantage of perfecting the parallelism of the passage, as well as making somewhat better sense. Furthermore, Cersoy's suggestion is supported in a quite remarkable way by the independent investigations of Taylor.⁵¹ The latter made a

collection of all the LXX uses of $\sigma\alpha\beta\beta\alpha\tau\acute{\iota}\zeta\alpha\iota\nu$, as a result of which it appears that in no case does $\sigma\alpha\beta\beta\alpha\tau\acute{\iota}\zeta\alpha\iota\nu$ τὸ $\rho\acute{\alpha}\beta\beta\alpha\tau\omicron\nu$ mean to keep the sabbath in the ordinary sense. Indeed the expression has in the LXX only two meanings, viz., to keep the sabbatical year, or to keep the Day of Atonement.⁵² Of these, the second is the only one which can reasonably be considered here, though either one eliminates the English rendering, "sanctify the whole week."⁵³ But this in turn destroys the availability of $\nu\eta\pi\tau\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\sigma\alpha\iota\nu$ τοῦ $\kappa\acute{o}\sigma\mu\omicron\nu$, since (1) the latter no longer balances the first clause, and (2) on the Day of Atonement the ideas of fasting and sabbath observance were especially connected.⁵⁴

It may be objected that such a particularization is not in the manner of Jesus. To this it is replied, (1) that the problem is not what Jesus actually did say, but what GH records him as saying; (2) it is altogether possible that Jesus would utter particularistic words of a purely Jewish interest, which would not be preserved in Gospels written by or for Gentiles; (3) the present Saying, as emended, is quite in accord with Mt. v.18-19.

In view of GH's strong attachment to the Old Law, it appears necessary to adopt Cersoy's emendation.

The Saying as a whole is independent. Yet cp. Mt. v.20: $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu$ $\alpha\eta$ $\kappa\epsilon\tau\iota\tau\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\sigma\eta$ η $\delta\iota\kappa\alpha\iota\omicron\upsilon\sigma\acute{\upsilon}\nu\eta$ $\upsilon\mu\acute{\iota}\nu$ $\pi\lambda\epsilon\acute{\iota}\omicron\nu$ $\tau\acute{\eta}\nu$ $\gamma\omicron\upsilon\mu\mu\alpha\tau\acute{\iota}\epsilon\upsilon$ $\kappa\alpha\iota$ $\epsilon\pi\omicron\upsilon\mu\alpha\tau\acute{\iota}\epsilon\upsilon$, $\omicron\upsilon$ $\alpha\eta$ $\epsilon\iota\varsigma\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\theta\epsilon$ $\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ $\tau\acute{\eta}\nu$ $\delta\iota\kappa\alpha\iota\acute{\epsilon\iota\varsigma\iota\nu}$ $\tau\acute{\eta}\nu$ $\omicron\upsilon\beta\alpha\chi\acute{\epsilon}\nu$, the last clause of which is like the Saying, and where the "righteousness of the scribes and Pharisees" refers

to just such things as sabbath observance and fasting.

74. ἐὰν μὴ νηστεύσητε τὴν νηστείαν, οὐ μὴ
εὕρητε τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ· καὶ ἐὰν μὴ
σκηστίζητε τὸ σάββατον, οὐκ ὄψεσθε τὸν
πατέρα.

Ox. Pap. 1, ll. 11-22. Following is the restora-
tion by Cross:⁵⁵

λέγει ἡ(ητοῦ)ς· ἐ[τ]ὴν
ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ κόσμου,
καὶ ἐν σαρκὶ ὤφθην
αὐτοῖς· καὶ εὕρον πάν-
τας μεθύοντας, καὶ
οὐδένα εὕρον δειψῶ(ν)-
τα ἐν αὐτοῖς· καὶ πο-
νεῖ ἡ ψυχὴ μου ἐπὶ
τοῖς υἱοῖς τῶν ἀν(θρώπ)ων,
ὅτι τυφλοὶ εἰσιν τῇ κρο-
δίᾳ αὐτῶ(ν), καὶ [οὐ] βλέπ-
[ουσι(ν)], πτωχοὶ καὶ οὐκ
· [οἶδα]σι[ν τ]ὴν πτωχεῖα(ν).

The first eleven lines of the Saying are on the verso of the papyrus, while the last line is on the recto. Just how much intervening material may have been lost is a matter of dispute, since the bottom of the leaf is mutilated. Since, however, Cross's conjecture produces a brilliant parallelism with a minimum of interpolation, it is retained; without, however, any confidence that it is more than a good guess.

With the first two clauses may be compared Bar.

iii.28: μετὰ τοῦτο ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ὤφθην, καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις

συμβασιόειν, on which the Saying seems to depend. It is notable that Ireneus connected the Baruch passage with Jesus.⁵⁶ The word διαψύχων suggests Jn. vii.37: ἐὰν τις διαψῇ ἐοχέσθω πρὸς με καὶ πνεύτω, though it is more probably to be related to Is. lv.1: οἱ διαψύχοντες πορεύεσθε ἐπ' ὄψω. Similarly, μεθύοντες recalls Is. xxviii.1. Cp. also Lk. xxi.34; Mt. xxiv.38f. = Lk. xvii.26; and Mt. xxiv.50 = Lk. xii.45. Yet the total passage is more probably to be connected with some such occasion as Mt. xi.20ff., or Mt. xxiii.

The change of tense from aorist (ἔσταιν) to present (νοεῖ) has caused difficulty to some scholars, and Batiffol⁵⁷ would divide the Saying in two, on the grounds that (1) the change of tense indicates two different occasions, (2) the first four clauses form a complete parallelism which is broken by addition of the νοεῖ clause, and (3) the latter shows no real antithesis to the preceding clauses. But the change of tense is surely completely accounted for by the exigencies of the sense. Moreover, the complaint against mankind would be incomplete without this conclusion. That the parallelism is weakened is less certain if Cross's restoration be adopted, and in any case we have in the New Testament instances where certain passages stand outside the parallelism, apparently for the sake of emphasis.⁵⁸

With the second part of the Saying may be compared Mt. xxiii.37, Lk. xiii.34, xix.41, and Jn. i.10f. The clause νοεῖ ἡ ψυχὴ σου is probably to be attributed to Is. liii.10.

Cp. also Ps. lxviii.24.

75. [λέγει Ἰησοῦς·] Ὡσπην ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ κόσμου, καὶ ἐν σαρκὶ ὤφθην αὐτοῖς· καὶ εὖρον πάντας μεθύοντας, καὶ οὐδένα εὖρον διψῶντα ἐν χύτοῖς· καὶ πονεῖ ἡ ψυχὴ μου ἐπὶ τοῖς υἱοῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ὅτι τυφλοὶ εἰσιν τῇ καρδίᾳ αἰτῶν, καὶ οὐ βλέπουσιν, [πτωχοὶ καὶ οὐκ οἶδασιν] τὴν πτωχείαν.

Ox. Pap. 1, ll. 23-30. The restoration by F.

Blass⁵⁹ is the one almost universally accepted at present:

[λέγ]ει [Ἰ]ησοῦς· ὅπ]ου ἐὰν ᾖτιν
[ἔ]στιν, οὐκ ε[ἴ]στιν ἄθεοι· καὶ
[ὁ]που ε[ἴ]στιν ἕστιν ὁ μόνος,
[λέ]γω ἐγὼ εἰμι μετ' αὐ-
τ[οῦ]. ἔγει[ρ]ον τὸν λίθο(ν),
καὶ κεῖ εὐδοήσεις με,
σχήσον τὸ ξύλον, καὶ γὰρ
ἐκεῖ εἰμι.

The first part recalls Mt. xviii.20: οὗ γὰρ εἰσι δύο ἢ τρεῖς συνηγμένοι εἰς τὸ ἑμὸν ὄνομα, ἐκεῖ εἰμι ἐν μέσῳ αὐτῶν. Yet the differences are marked. While Matthew emphasizes a sort of congregational worship, the Saying stresses solitude. And the additional matter in the logion is of so transcendental a nature that it seems impossible to connect it with the period of the Ministry. It is more probably post-Resurrectional, in which case it may be compared with Mt. xxviii.20, which is similar in spirit, though of course very different in content. A possible relationship between the Saying and a passage from the Pirke

Abboth has already been noted.⁶⁰

Two possible interpretations of the second part of the Saying should be given attention. The first is that we have here the concept of divine immanence in matter. With this may be compared Ps. cxxxviii. As to the contrast between raising the stone and cleaving the wood, the conjecture of Cersoy has already been remarked,⁶¹ that for "raise" we should read "hew", on the hypothesis of a mistranslation from the Aramaic.

On the other hand there may be in the Saying the idea that effort is required to find Christ. If this is its import, there is a close parallel in Eccl. x.9: ἐξαίρων λίθους διακονηθήσεται ἐν αὐτοῖς, σχίζων ξύλα κινδυνεύει ἐν αὐτοῖς.

76. ὅπου ἂν ᾖσιν δύο, οὐκ εἰσιν ἄθεοι· καὶ ὅπου εἷς ἐστὶν μόνος, λέγω ἐγὼ εἰμι μετ' αὐτοῦ. ἔγειρον τὸν λίθον, κάκεϊ εὐρήσεις με· σχίτον τὸ ξύλον, κάγω ἐκεῖ εἰμι.

Ox. Pap. 1, ll. 30-35. Parallels are found in all the canonical Gospels:

Mt. xiii.57: οὐκ ἔστιν προφήτης ἄτιμος εἰ μὴ ἐν τῇ πατρίδι καὶ ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ αὐτοῦ.

Mk. vi.4: οὐκ ἔστι προφήτης ἄτιμος εἰ μὴ ἐν τῇ πατρίδι αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐν τοῖς συγγενέσιν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ αὐτοῦ.

Lk. iv.23-24: πάντως ἐρεῖτε μοι τὴν προφησίαν ταύτην· Ἰησοῦ, θεράπευτον σατυρόν· ὅτι ἠκούσαμεν γενόμενα εἰς τὴν Κηπερναούμ, ποίησον καὶ ὅδε ἐν τῇ πατρίδι σου. εἶπε δέ· Ἀλλὰ

λέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι οὐδεὶς προφήτης δεκτός ἐστιν ἐν τῇ πατρίδι αὐτοῦ.

Jn. iv.44: προφήτης ἐν τῇ ἰδίᾳ πατρίδι τιμὴν οὐκ ἔχει.

Matthew here depends on Mark; probably John does also. The rendering of Luke is independent, and comes from L. The Saying agrees with Matthew-Mark only in the trivial variant οὐκ ἔστι instead of οὐδεὶς, but it conforms with Luke in two points of much greater importance. The first of these is the reading δεκτός instead of ἄτιμος. Since Luke is independent of Mark, drawing from Q-L, this difference is not to be attributed to stylistic improvement. Rather, the word in both places may be inspired by Is. lxi.2, which Luke has just quoted in v. 19: κηρῶσι ἐνιχυτὸν κυοῖου δεκτόν. Second, the word ἱερός finds its sole canonical counterpart in Luke. The presence of this word in the Saying effects the parallelism. It would also serve, however, as an apt retort to the physician proverb, and it is possible that in the extracanonical Gospel this proverb was placed in the mouths of Jesus' hearers. In any case, it is apparent that that Gospel contained an account of the visit to Nazareth.

The Saying shows possible traces of an Aramaic original. We have seen that Cersoy found such an indication in the phrase ποιεῖ θεοπραΐας. Swete⁶² notes that γεινώσκοντες αὐτόν replaces Matthew-Mark καὶ ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ, and compares Ps. lxxxvi.4, suggesting such an Aramaic source. Cersoy

thinks there is mistranslation here, and would replace the phrase with εἰς τοὺς γνωστούς αὐτοῦ.

77. οὐκ ἔστιν δεκτὸς προφήτης ἐν τῇ πατρίδι αὐτοῦ, οὐδὲ ἱατρὸς ποιεῖ θεραπείας εἰς τοὺς γινώσκοντάς αὐτόν.

Ox. Pap. 1, ll. 36-41. There is a difficulty here. In previous Sayings, the parallelism has been of a vital sort, connected with the actual content of the passages, whereas in the present instance it seems to have degenerated to a parallelism of words only: ἠκοδομημένη with ἐστηρικμένη, and οὕτε πεσεῖν with οὕτε κρουσθήναι. Moreover, the Saying as it stands hardly makes good sense: a city could hardly be represented as falling down, though a house could be so pictured. Again, while part of the Saying represents Mt. v.14, the remainder recalls the parable of the House on Sands, Mt. vii.24-25, Lk. vi.47-49.

Batiffol has conjectured⁶³ that the original form was: "A city built upon the top of a mountain cannot be hid, and a house established upon a high rock cannot fall," supposing that in the Aramaic original the word for "house" had somehow dropped out, and that the translator, presented with a difficult reading, solved the problem in the manner indicated. This correction would be supported by Is. ii.2: ὅτι ἔστιν ἐν ταῖς ἐσχάταις ἡμέραις ἐμψαυὲς τὸ ὄρος κυρίου καὶ ὁ οἶκος τοῦ θεοῦ ἐπ' ἁκροῦ τῶν ὀρέων.

The first part of the Saying is compared with

Mt. v.14. The variant ἐπ' ἄκρον τοῦ ὄρους for Matthew's ἐπὶ τὸν may be due to the Isaianic verse just quoted. The reading ῥυθωμένη instead of κειμένη of the critical text of Matthew connects the Saying with the early Syriac versions, with Tatian, and with one Latin version of Matthew.⁶⁴

In view of the foregoing considerations, alternative restorations of the fragment are given.

78. πόλις ῥυθωμένη ἐπ' ἄκρον ὄρους
ὕψηλοῦ καὶ ἐστηριγμένη οὔτε πεσεῖν δύναται
οὔτε κρυθῆναι.

or

πόλις ῥυθωμένη ἐπ' ἄκρον ὄρους
οὐ δύναται κρυθῆναι· οἶκος δὲ ἐστηριγμένος
ἐπὶ πέτρῃ ὕψηλοῦ οὐ πεσεῖν δύναται.

Ox. Pap. 1, ll. 41-42. Most restorations of this Saying are on the same order, and they need not detain us. The general sense of the passage is to be compared with Mt. xiii.13. The use of the second person singular makes it likely that a particular individual was addressed.

79. [λέγει Ἰησοῦς·] ἀκούεις εἰς τὸ ἐν
ἁτίον σου, τὸ δὲ ἕτερον συνέκλεισας.

It is indeed difficult at times to keep both ears open, in critical research as well as elsewhere!

NOTES TO CHAPTER IV.

1. Grenfell and Hunt, New Sayings of Jesus and Fragment of a Lost Gospel, p. 9.

2. Idem, pp. 10, 20ff. See also, by the same authors, Oxyrhynchus Papyri, vol. i, # 1.

3. Idem. See also Evelyn White, Sayings of Jesus, pp. xixff.

4. For this, we draw heavily upon the discussion of the subject by Evelyn White, op. cit., Introduction.

5. See Grenfell and Hunt, New Sayings of Jesus, p. 11; and Oxyrhynchus Papyri, ibid.

6. See Grenfell and Hunt, Λόγια 'Ιησοῦ, p. 16; and Oxyrhynchus Papyri, vol. iv, p. 16.

7. William Sanday, Two Lectures on the Sayings of Jesus, pp. 34f.

8. Op. cit., p. 41.

9. Viz., GH fragment 27. See Citations, pp. 89ff., and above, p. 14.

10. Oxyrhynchus Papyri, vol. iv, p. 15.

11. Cp. Jn. xxi.12.

12. The list of three recalls the three "righteousnesses" discussed by Jesus, viz., almsgiving, prayer and fasting, Mt. vi.2-18. Note especially that almsgiving was often a ritualistic observance, with the sounding of trumpets. See C. G. Montefiore, The Synoptic Gospels, 2d ed., vol. ii, comm. on Mt. vi.2.

13. In art. in Contemporary Review, 1897, p. 157.

14. M. R. James, The Apocryphal New Testament, p. 1.

15. T. Zahn, "Die jüngst gefundenen 'Aussprüche Jesu,'" art. in Theologische Literaturblatt, vol. xviii, 1897, pp. 425ff. See above, pp. 49f., passage (45).

16. White says "dangerous".

17. Refut. v.7. See Grenfell and Hunt, New Sayings, p. 31.

18. C. Taylor, The Oxyrhynchis Logia and the Apocryphal Gospels, pp. 90-98.

19. Recension A, ch. viii. See Tischendorff's edition.
20. A. Harnack, Die jüngst entdeckten Sprüche Jesu, pp. 26ff.
21. F. P. Badham, "The New Logia," art. in Athenaeum, Aug. 7, 1897.
22. Ibid.
23. Citations, ch. 1.
24. Armitage Robinson, art. in Expositor, 1897, pp. 417ff.
25. Strom. iii.10.
26. See note 9.
27. Pp. 101ff.
28. Cf. GH fragments 4b, 8, 13, 23, 24, 26, 27, 49, 52, 55, 57, 58, 59.
29. P. Cersoy, "Quelques Remarques sur les Logia de Behnesa," art. in Revue Biblique, vol. vii, 1898, pp. 415ff.
30. Eusebius, H.E. iii.27.4. This condition has often been noted in these pages.
31. See Cersoy, *ibid.*
32. See Taylor, *op. cit.*, p. 34.
33. As Adeney points out (Hibbert Journal, vol. iii, p. 162), this mountain was in the time of Jesus occupied by a Roman fortress. It was unfit as a scene for the Temptation, so that the name in GH must have been suggested by these passages.
34. Most of these may be found in Evelyn White, *op. cit.*, pp. 1ff. See also art. by M. J. Lagrange in Revue Biblique, 1922, p. 432.
35. Ibid.
36. See note 9.
37. Cf. Evelyn White, *op. cit.*, pp. 9f.
38. Cf. Grenfell and Hunt, New Sayings of Jesus, frontispiece.
39. *Id.*, p. 18.
40. *Op. cit.*, p. 15.

41. A. Deissmann, Light from the Ancient East, p. 428.
42. Id.
43. The plea that the second person singular is often used rhetorically does not seem adequate for the present case. The Saying sounds like an answer to a question, without which it has a curious air of incompleteness.
44. Op. cit., pp. 19f.
45. GH fragment 56; see above, pp. 74ff., 91.
46. See Lk. xi.1.
47. GH fragment 31; see Citations, pp. 93f.
48. So Grenfell and Hunt, New Sayings, p. 20. See also Evelyn White, op. cit., p. 24.
49. Petermann's edition, p. 157.
50. Op. cit., pp. 415f.
51. Op. cit., pp. 13f.
52. See Lev. xxiii.32.
53. So Evelyn White, op. cit., p. 27.
54. Taylor, op. cit., pp. 15ff.
55. J. A. Cross, art. in Expositor, 1897, p. 259.
56. Ad. Haer. iv.34.4.
57. P. Batiffol, "Les Logia du Papyrus de Behnesa," art. in Revue Biblique, vol. vii, 1898, pp. 501ff.
58. E.g. Mt. vii.3f.
59. Evang. Kirchengz., 1897, pp. 498ff.
60. Above, p. 114.
61. Op. cit., p. 420.
62. H. B. Swete, "The Oxyrhynchus Fragment," art. in Expository Times, September, 1897.
63. Op. cit., p. 511.
64. Cf. critical apparatus to Tischendorff's Greek Testament, 8th ed.

V. MISCELLANEOUS PROBABLE AND POSSIBLE FRAGMENTS.

It is now necessary to consider a series of some eighteen or twenty passages from various sources, which deserve serious attention as possible fragments of the Gospel according to the Hebrews. It is obvious that through liberal use of the imagination a great many more than twenty passages could be found, to be related to this Gospel. In the present study only those passages will be considered which have hitherto been connected with the Hebrew Gospel by one or more competent scholars.

Origen. First, we have for consideration three fragments from Origen.

De Orat. 2: εἶπε γὰρ ὁ Ἰησοῦς τοῖς μαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ· αἰτεῖτε τὰ μεγάλα καὶ τὰ μικρὰ ὑμῖν προστεθήσεται, καὶ αἰτεῖτε τὰ ἐπουράνια καὶ τὰ ἐπίγεια προστεθήσεται.

The first part of the saying is alluded to by Origen elsewhere:¹ Ἀνχέμεται οὐ περὶ τῶν τυχόντων τὴν εὐχὴν τῷ Θεῷ. ἔμαθε γὰρ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ μηδὲν μικρὸν, τουτέστιν χρισθητον, ζητεῖν, ἀλλὰ μόνον τὰ μεγάλα καὶ ἀληθῶς θεῖα.

Clement of Alexandria had previously quoted this part of the saying:² "For he [Jesus] saith, Ask great things and little things shall be added to you." Elsewhere,³ after quoting Mt. vi.32b-33a, he says: ταῦτ' ἀγαθὰ καὶ 33ε μικρὰ, καὶ περὶ τὸν 33ον, ταῦτ' προστεθήσεται ὑμῖν. Note that the last two words, προστεθήσεται ὑμῖν, are in Matthew.

The considerations which lead to the ascription of

this passage to GH are as follows: (1) Its closest canonical parallel is from Q. (2) It cannot be a loose citation of the New Testament passage, since it is four times quoted, and by two different writers, in substantially the same form.

(3) It is quoted by Origen, who made frequent use of the Hebrew Gospel. (4) It is quoted by Clement of Alexandria, who not only used this Gospel, but regarded it as Scripture. There are therefore, short of definite proof, the strongest reasons for assigning the fragment to that Gospel.

80. [εἶπεν γὰρ ὁ Ἰησοῦς τοῖς μαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ.] Αἰτεῖτε τὰ μεγάλα καὶ τὰ μικρὰ ὑμῖν προστεθήσεται, καὶ αἰτεῖτε τὰ ἐπουράνια καὶ τὰ ἐπίγεια προστεθήσεται ὑμῖν.

Hom. iii in Lev.: Γίνεσθε δοκιμοὶ τραπεζίται.

This is perhaps the most famous extracanonical saying of Jesus in existence. It is quoted sixty-nine times in ancient literature.⁴ Origen himself refers to it no less than eleven times: Hom. iii in Lev.; Hom. xii in Ier., soon after the middle; Hom. xix in Ier., near the end; Hom. ii in Ezech.; Comm. in Mt. xvi.1, xvii.31, xxiii.37, xxiv.5, the last two appearing only in the Latin version of his Commentary; Hom. i in Luc.; Hom. xx in Iohan., in discussing Jn. viii.46, where he calls the saying "a command of Jesus"; Hom. xxxii in Iohan., in discussing Jn. xiii.20.

Cyril of Alexandria prefixes the saying to 1 Thess. v.21,⁵ ascribing the whole to Paul: ὁ μακάρτιος Παῦλος πρὸς κτλ. Also the words are connected with the Pauline passage by

Basil,⁶ Cyril of Jerusalem,⁷ and Pamphilus,⁸ the collector of the library in which Jerome found the Hebrew Gospel. But none of these writers definitely ascribes the saying to Paul. Dionysus of Alexandria calls the saying an apostolic utterance.⁹

Clement of Alexandria refers four times to the saying.¹⁰ Once he says:¹¹ "The Scripture counsels [ἡ γοαρὴ . . . ἀπαυτῶν] But become proved bankers, proving out some things, but holding fast the good." Again¹² he alludes to it immediately after a reference to Paul, and follows the allusion with an explanation which may be a free paraphrase from 1 Thessalonians: "discerning the genuine coin of the Lord from the forgery."

Chrysostom quotes the words in connection with the Pauline passage, but seems to imply that they were a text from a different writer:¹³ "For on this also He [ὁ θεός] saith, Do ye become proved bankers: not that ye may stand in the market-places and count silver coins, but that ye may try words with all exactness. For this cause the apostle Paul also saith, Prove all things but hold fast the good only."

These frequent allusions to the saying in connection with a word from Paul are exceedingly strange, for there is not a single MS or version of 1 Thessalonians, nor of any other Pauline writing, that carries any trace of the fragment. Hence Pauline authorship is out of the question, and the relationship must be explained on other grounds. Two

explanations are possible. On the one hand, the connection may have arisen through the similarity of the words *δοκιμοι* and *δοκιμαζειν* in the two passages. But it is difficult to understand why so many writers should have been guilty of this confusion. On the other hand, it is quite possible that all of the words, "Become proved bankers; prove all things, hold fast that which is good," form a genuine saying of Jesus, and that Paul in 1 Thessalonians is alluding to a part of it, for we know that Paul often does quote words of Jesus without ascribing them to him.

That the saying, at least in its short form, is indeed from a Gospel is borne out by an abundance of evidence. In the references to the saying already noted, it is seen that: (1) Origen calls it a "command of Jesus"; (2) Clement of Alexandria quotes it as Scripture; (3) Chrysostom implies that it comes to him from a source other than the Pauline epistle. In addition we have the following evidence of witnesses: (4) The earliest writer to quote the saying is the Ebionite author of the Clementine Homilies. He quotes it three times,¹⁴ and in every instance attributes it to Jesus. (5) According to Epiphanius, the Gnostic Apelles, c. 175, quoted the saying as coming from a Gospel: *ἐφη ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ*. (6) Johannes Cassianus once calls the saying "praeceptum Domini",¹⁵ and once "illam evangelicam parabolam".¹⁶ (7) Socrates,¹⁷ writing in the early fifth century, says, "Both Christ and his apostle give us word to become proved bankers, so as to prove all things, holding fast the

good. (8) A certain Caesarius, probably not Caesarius Nazianzus, cites the saying,¹⁸ stating that it is found "in Gospels". (9) Jerome, who (once more) disliked most extra-canonical Gospels, quotes or refers to the saying five times.¹⁹ In one of these cases, he speaks of the Thessalonian passage as "illud apostoli" and then cites the present saying as "Salvatoris verba".²⁰

There can be no doubt, therefore, that the saying comes from some Gospel. That this was probably GH is indicated by the following considerations: (1) The earliest notice of the fragment is in the Clementine Homilies, an Ebionite writing. (2) The saying was well known especially to Alexandrian writers. (3) It is quoted by Origen, a frequent user of GH. (4) It is quoted by Jerome, who is otherwise our chief source for GH fragments. (5) It is quoted by Pamphilus, who collected the library in which Jerome found GH. (6) Clement of Alexandria, who quoted GH as Scripture, joins the fragment to 1 Thessalonians; but this very fact witnesses to the untrustworthiness of Clement in this case, since the passage was not in that epistle: we may, in fact, say that Clement's knowledge of the saying strengthens the probability that it was in a Gospel which was known to him.

Furthermore it is likely that something similar to the Thessalonian verse concluded the GH saying. The two parts are so frequently joined, and by so many writers, that it is virtually certain that they were connected in some written document. The connection may indicate that Paul

himself is using a saying of Jesus. We have already noted²¹ that Paul's evangelic tradition could well have come from sources that underlay GH. Moreover, the addition produces a fine parallelism.

81. Γίνεσθε δὲ δοκιμοὶ τραπεζίται· πάντα δοκιμάζετε, τὸ καλὸν κατέχετε.

Hom. in Ierem. iii:22 Legi alicubi quasi Salvatore dicente - et quaero sive quis personem figurarit Salvatoris, sive in memoriam adduxerit ac verum sit hoc quod dictum est - ait autem ipse Salvator, Qui iuxta me est, iuxta ignum est; qui longe a me, longe est a regne.

Didymus, in Ps. lxxxviii.8: φησὶν ὁ σωτὴρ· ὁ ἐγγύς μου ἐγγύς τοῦ πυρός· ὁ δὲ μακρὸν ἀπ' ἐμοῦ μακρὸν ἀπὸ τῆς θρασύχειας.

Didymus could well have taken the saying from Origen.

Nicholson²³ assigns the saying to the Hebrew Gospel on the grounds that it is quoted by Origen; that the latter apparently took it from a written source; that it shows parallelism; and that it mentions "fire". These grounds are insufficient. Against such ascription we have the peculiar quality of the saying itself: it is not Synoptic in tone, nor, with its mention of "fire" and "the Kingdom", can it be styled Johannine. There is no evidence that GH associated attainment of the Kingdom with a mystical allegiance to the Savior.²⁴ Still more damaging to the theory of extraction from GH is the fact that Origen, who was very familiar with that Gospel, cannot remember where he ran across the present logion.

Justin Martyr. We have next to notice the argument advanced by Stanton,²⁵ Nicholson²⁶ and others, that in the apocryphal matter preserved in the writings of Justin Martyr are to be found some traces of the Hebrew Gospel. The argument runs substantially as follows:

Justin has a few passages which are somewhat similar to sections of the Gospel of Peter. But the differences between Justin and "Peter" are too great for either to have depended on the other.²⁷ The parallelisms are rather due to the employment by both of a document which was not, and did not purport to be, a Gospel, or to have apostolic authority. When Justin seems to cite "the Memoirs of the Apostles" for evangelic tradition not found in the New Testament, we can only rely, in singling out the source, on general considerations of probability. In his apocryphal Infancy passages, Justin has traits which are found also in the Protevangelium of James. It is, however, unlikely that Justin depended on the Protevangelium: the differences between the two are again fully as remarkable as the resemblances; there is no evidence that Justin was acquainted with that work, apart from these resemblances; and the probability is that the Protevangelium was not written until after Justin's death.

On the other hand (so runs the argument), Justin must surely have had some knowledge of the Hebrew Gospel. Unlike his younger contemporary Hegesippus, who made extensive use of GH, Justin probably did not know Aramaic. This,

however, does not preclude the possibility that he knew GH, since (1) he came from Palestine, where certainly expressions and incidents from GH would have been made known to him by Greek-speaking Jewish Christians, and (2) there was probably an early Greek version of this Gospel.²⁸

The view receives some confirmation from the fact that Justin cites the Apostolic Memoirs²⁹ for an incident not found in the New Testament, but which was told in the Gospel of the Ebionites and probably in GH - the kindling of the fire in Jordan at the time of the Baptism.³⁰ Again, he quotes as sayings of Jesus the words, "There shall be schisms and heresies," and "Many false Christs and false apostles shall arise." These sayings may be from GH, since they are referred to by Hegesippus.³¹ And he cites as a saying of Jesus the words, "For in such as I find you, in such will I also judge you," which is referred to by Clement of Alexandria.

Furthermore (runs the argument) the attitude of Justin toward GH could well be like that of Eusebius. Speaking of Hegesippus' work, in which GH was cited, Eusebius says that "in a very sincere composition he recorded the infallible tradition of the apostolic preaching," and that he, Eusebius, made considerable use of his utterances, "embodying some of the things relating to the apostles as delivered by him."³² Such reliance on the tradition of the Hebrew Christians would be entirely natural, particularly since GH seems never to have been regarded as apocryphal in the same sense as other

Gospels outside the Four. Hence, if Justin derived material from this Gospel, he might well have recorded it without scruple as part of the genuine apostolic tradition.

The argument is, of course, not conclusive. But it is sufficiently strong to make reasonable the inclusion in the final text of two or three fragments preserved by Justin.

Dial. 47: ὁ ἡμέτερος κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς εἶπεν·
'὘ν οἷς ἂν ὑμεῖς καταλάβω, ἐν τούτοις καὶ κρινῶ.

There is a number of allusions to the saying in early Christian literature:

Clement of Alexandria attributes words similar to these to God the Father:³³ εἰς οἷς γὰρ ἂν εὖρω ὑμεῖς, φησὶν, ἐπὶ τούτοις καὶ κρινῶ.

Nilus:³⁴ Οἷον γὰρ εὖρω σε. τοιοῦτων σε κρινῶ, φησὶν ὁ κύριος.

Elias, Metropolitan of Crete:³⁵ εἰρηται γὰρ ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ διὰ τίνος τῶν προσήτων· '὘ν ᾧ εὖρω σε, ἐν τούτῳ δὲ καὶ κρινῶ σε.

In the minds of these writers the saying was apparently connected with some Old Testament passage. There is nothing in the Old Testament quite comparable to it, but it is quite possible that the saying owes its existence to Eze. xxiv.14.

One other allusion to the words may be noted, that in Pseudo-Josephus' fragment on Hades: εἰς οἷς ἂν εὖρω ὑμεῖς, ἐπὶ τούτοις κρινῶ παρ' ἑκάστη, βόα τὸ τέλος πάντων.

82. Ἐν οἷς ἂν ὑμῖς καταλάβω, ἐν τούτοις καὶ κρινῶ.

Dial. 35: εἶπε γὰρ: "Ἔσονται σχίσματα καὶ αἱρέσεις.

Dial. 51: καὶ ἐν τῷ μεταξύ τῆς παρουσίας αὐτοῦ χρόνῳ, ὡς προέφην, γενήσεσθαι αἱρέσεις καὶ ψευδοπροφήταις ἐπὶ τῷ ὄνματι αὐτοῦ προεμήνυσε.

Among other allusions to this saying may be noted the following:

Clementine Homilies xvi.21: "Ἔσονται γὰρ, ὡς ὁ κύριος εἶπεν, ψευδοχρίστοι, ψευδεῖς προφῆται, αἱρέσεις, φιλαρχίαι.

Apostolic Constitutions vi.13: οὗτοι γὰρ εἰσι ψευδόχριστοι καὶ ψευδοπροφῆται καὶ ψευδοπόστολοι, πλῖνοι καὶ φθοραῖς.

As was noted above, Hegesippus apparently refers to the passage, speaking of ψευδόχριστοι, ψευδοπροφῆται, ψευδοπόστολοι, though he does not imply that he is quoting.

The passage is to be compared with 1 Cor. xi.18-19: πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ συνερχομένον ὑμῶν ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ ἀκούω σχίσματα ἐν ὑμῖν ὑπάρχειν, καὶ μέρος τι πιστεύω. δεῖ γὰρ καὶ αἱρέσεις ἐν ὑμῖν εἶναι, ἵνα καὶ οἱ δοκιμαῖοι φανεροὶ γένωνται ἐν ὑμῖν.

With the φιλαρχίαι of the Clementine Homilies compare 1 Clem. xliv.1.

It is difficult to decide whether this fragment properly belongs to GH or no. The spirit of the passage is in harmony with the apocalyptic discourses of Mt. xxiv, Mk. xiii. The most difficult word is αἱρέσεις, found in both

Justin and the Clementine Homilies. But the double notice by the former that the word was put in the mouth of Jesus indicates that it appeared thus in some Gospel. The passage in Paul may be taken equally as an argument for or against ascription of the word to Jesus. Since the saying in some form must have stood in some Gospel, since it is noticed by Hegesippus, and since it appears in the Ebionite Clementine Homilies, it is included here; but in the final text it will be marked as doubtful.

It is likewise difficult to determine the original form of the saying. The following restoration is perhaps as good as any:

83. "Ἔχοντες ψευδόχριστοι, ψευδοπροφήται,
ψευδοκρίστοι, σχίσματι, κίβεις, φιλοχίχι.

Cp. Mt. xxiv.5,11.

Apology 1.38: καὶ πάλιν ὅταν λέγῃ· Ἐλάλησιν ἐν χεῖλεσιν, ἐκίνησιν κεφαλὴν λέγοντες· Ὑψίστου ἑαυτόν, ἥτις πάντα γέγονεν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἰουδαίων τῷ Κρισταῷ, ὃς μετ' ἐν θανάτῳ σταυρωθέντος γὰρ αὐτοῦ ἐξέστρεφον τὰ χεῖλη καὶ ἐκίνουν τὰς κεφαλὰς λέγοντες· Ὁ νεκρὸς ἀναγείας ὑψίστου ἑαυτόν.

Dial. 101: οἱ γὰρ θεωροῦντες αὐτὸν ἐσταυρωμένον καὶ κεφαλὰς ἔκκυστος ἐκίνουν καὶ τὰ χεῖλη διεστρεφον καὶ τοῖς μυσητῶσιν ἐν ἀλλήλοις διακρίνουσιντες ἔλεγον εἰρωνευόμενοι ταῦτα ἃ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἀπομνημονεύμασι τῶν ἰστορῶν αὐτοῦ γέγραπται· Ὡς θεοῦ ἑαυτὸν ἔλεγε· καταβὰς περιπατεῖτο· παύσας αὐτὸν ὁ θεός.

In both of these passages, Justin is referring to the fulfilment of Ps. xxii.7-8 in the events of the Cruci-

fixion. It is notable that in the second passage, he cites his Apostolic Memoirs as authority for his quotation. With the first citation, from the Apology, may be compared Lk. xxiii.35; with the second, Mt. xxvii.39-43.

We have in these instances examples of Justin's looseness of quotation from the Old Testament, for in neither does he quote the LXX correctly. In the first instance, the misquotation is very bad. It is therefore possible that he is merely misquoting the canonical Gospels. On the other hand, the fact that the passages resemble both Matthew and Luke, with considerable differences from each of them, may indicate that some extracanonial Gospel has been used. On general grounds of probability - that Justin ascribes the second selection to the Memoirs, and that by this term he may have meant simply the group of acceptable Gospels - such Gospel would perhaps be GH. If so, the words about contemptuous face-pulling probably do not belong in the original, since Justin often supplements his sources from his own imagination.

Again there is difficulty in reconstructing the original from Justin's two citations.

84. εἰκύνουν τὰς κεφαλὰς, λέγοντες· Ὁ νεκρὸς ἀνεγείλεται ὁμοίως ἑαυτὸν. οἶδον θεοῦ ἑαυτὸν εἰλεγε· κατὰ τὴν περικυλισμένην, παύσει αὐτὸν ὁ θεός.

In the final text the passage will be marked doubtful.

Clementine Homilies. Among the most curious products of second century Christianity are the Clementine Homilies and the Clementine Recognitions. Judaism had been outlawed by the Empire, and it was despicable to Gentile Christians. A certain Jewish Christian³⁶ attempted to counteract the now dominant Paulinism through the composition of books purporting to be from the hand of Clement of Rome, and whose contents should comprise supposed discourses and doings of Peter. Simon Magus is prominent in the works, frequently encountering Peter, and being defeated by the latter in debate. The device serves to propagate a speculative Ebionism.

Since these books are from the hand of a Jewish Christian, an Ebionite, and since we have seen that GH was used by Ebionites, and that probably the Gospel of the Ebionites was dependent on GH, both of these works should be examined for traces of the Hebrew Gospel. It turns out that there is virtually nothing in the Recognitions which is of value in this connection. As to the Homilies, it is unfortunate that none of the extracanonial material therein relates to any of the events of the thirty-eight fragments of GH considered in the former study,³⁷ which fragments must form the framework for all study of the Gospel. But in the present chapter we have already seen reason to ascribe to GH several passages which have parallels in the Homilies, and there are six other fragments therefrom which may be related to this Gospel.

Clem. Hom. iii.50: Διὰ τί οὐ νοεῖτε τὸ εὖλογον τῶν γραφῶν;

The author puts these words on the lips of Jesus. There is a possible parallel in Mk. xii.24, but this cannot have been the source for the saying, since it has itself been quoted by the author only a few lines previously.

Aside from the general considerations noted above, and from the Synoptic character of the saying, there is no evidence for ascribing the passage to GH. But it has been so ascribed by several modern writers.³⁸ In the final text, the saying will be included, but will be marked as doubtful.

85. Διὰ τί οὐ νοεῖτε τὸ εὖλογον τῶν γραφῶν;

Clem. Hom. iii.53: ἔστι μὴν ἔλεγεν· Ἐγὼ εἰμι περὶ οὗ Μωϋσῆς προεφήτευσεν εἰπὼν Προφήτην ἐνεῖοσι ὑμῖν κύριος ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν ἐκ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ὑμῶν, ὅπως καὶ ἐμέ· αὐτοῦ ἀκούετε κατὰ πάντα, ὅς ἂν δὲ μὴ ἀκούσῃ τοῦ προφήτου ἐκείνου ἀποθανεῖται.

The writer continues his argument that the Scriptures are to be interpreted in the light of reason, and that only those portions are to be accepted which are consonant with the highest conception of God.

There is no canonical parallel, though Jn. v.46 may be compared. The quotation is from Deut. xviii.15,19, which is cited also in Acts iii.22-23. The Christian citations differ as much from each other as either does from the LXX original. It is therefore possible that the present is an instance of the phenomenon previously discussed in connection

with GH use of the Old Testament;³⁹ we may be dealing with quotation from memory, or we may be confronted with translation from some targum. The use of the Old Testament, especially in the specific association of Jesus with the teachings of the Torah, is entirely after the manner of GH.

86. 'Εγώ εἰμι περὶ οὗ Μωϋσῆς προεφήτευσεν εἰπών, Προφήτην ἐγείρει ὑμῖν κύριος ὁ θεός ἡμῶν ἐκ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ὑμῶν, ὥσπερ καὶ ἐγώ· αὐτοῦ ἀκούετε κατὰ πάντα, ὅς ἂν δὲ μὴ ἀκούσῃ τοῦ προφήτου ἐμείνους ἀποθανεῖται.

Clem. Hom. iii.55: τοῖς δὲ οἰομένοις ὅτι ὁ θεός πειράζει, ὡς καὶ γραφαὶ λέγουσιν ἔφη· Ὁ πονηρός ἐστιν ὁ πειράζων ὁ καὶ αὐτὸν πειράσας.

There is nothing like this in either Old or New Testament. Yet the author cites it as "Scripture". He must, therefore, be citing some work which to him was Scripture. The last clause indicates that the words are attributed to Jesus. These two considerations together seem to indicate that the saying comes either from the Gospel of the Ebionites, or from GH.

87. Ὁ πονηρός ἐστιν ὁ πειράζων.

Clem. Hom. xix.2: ἔφη . . . Μὴ δότε πρόφασιν τῷ πονηρῷ.

There is a close parallel in Eph. iv.27: μὴ δὲ δίδοτε τόπον τῷ διαβόλῃ. Since, however, the author is writing against Paul, he would not be citing the latter as authority for his own case. Also, πρόφασιν gives a different

sense to the saying from that carried in τόπον.

88. Μὴ δότε πρόφασιν τῷ πονηρῷ.

Clem. Hom. xix.20: μεμνήμεθα τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν καὶ διδασκάλου ὃς ἐντελλόμενος εἶπεν ἡμῖν· Ἐὰν μυστήρια ἔμοι καὶ τοῖς υἱοῖς τοῦ οἴκου μου φυλάξατε.

Clement of Alexandria, in speaking of the author of the Epistle of Barnabas, says:⁴⁰ οὐ γὰρ φθονῶν, φησί, προήγγειλεν ὃ κύριος ἐν τινὶ εὐαγγελίῳ· μυστήριον ἔμὸν ἔμοι καὶ τοῖς υἱοῖς τοῦ οἴκου μου. The τινι of the latter passage must not be overstressed, since the ancients did not have easy methods of looking up passages.

Theodotion, a second century Ebionite, interpreted Is. xxiv.16 by the paraphrase: τὸ μυστήριόν μου ἔμοι καὶ τοῖς υἱοῖς. It is of course possible that this interpretation was older than Theodotion.

The saying is from a Gospel. This Gospel was recognized as trustworthy by Clement of Alexandria. It was apparently regarded as authoritative by the Ebionites. And the saying may have been inspired by a (Jewish) interpretation of an Isaianic passage. In these several considerations we have strong reasons for assigning the saying to the Gospel of the Ebionites, and therefore⁴¹ to GH.

89. Μυστήρια ἔμοι καὶ τοῖς υἱοῖς τοῦ οἴκου μου φυλάξατε.

Note the evident Semiticism in the use of the word υἱοί.

Talmud. In dealing with a Gospel which subsisted amongst Jews, it is the natural thing to inquire whether any traces of such a document appear in the Jewish Talmud. That such traces, if they exist, will be few in number is to be expected, since the Talmud in its entirety affords so little of value in the study of Jesus' life. Nevertheless, the possibility has been noted⁴² that such influence does actually exist. In two further Talmudic passages, we find three sayings attributed to Jesus, and these must now be examined.

B. Shabb. 116a,b: איסא שלום דביתו דרבי אליעזר
 אהיה דרבן גמליאל הואי הוה הוה פילוכופא בעבוביה דהוה שקיל
 שם דלא מקבל פוהא בעו לאהוכי ביה אעיילא ליה שרגא דוהבא ואזול
 לקמיה אמרה ליה בעינא דניפלני לי בנכסי דבי נשי אמר להו פלוגו
 א"ל כתיב לן בסקום ברא ברתא לא תירות א"ל סן יוסא דגליתון
 סארעכון איתנפליה אורייתא דסשה ואיתיהיבה אורייתא דקון גליון
 וכתיב ביה ברא וברתא כתדא ירתון לסהר הדר עייל ליה איהו ססרא
 לזבא אמר להו שפיליה לכיפיה דספרא וכתיב ביה אנא לא לסיפתח סן
 אורייתא דסשה אהיה ולא לאוכפי על אורייתא דסשה אהיה וכתיב ביה
 בסקום ברא ברתא לא תירות אמרה ליה נהור נהורין כשוגא א"ל רבן
 גמליאל אהא ססרא וכפש לשרגא:

This occurs in the Babylonian Gamara, where it is attached to a section dealing with written scrolls, and particularly with heretical writings.⁴³ R. Gamliel (of Jabneh) and his sister apparently have in mind the specific purpose of exposing the judge to ridicule. Nicholson argues that they took as an occasion the death of their father Shim'on, and that the incident is a real law-suit over the inheritance of the property.⁴⁴ Herford thinks rather that

the whole thing was a trick, on the ground that the judge is apparently a Christian - he uses a Gospel - and that Jews would not appeal to their Christian brethren in a real suit.⁴⁵

The term שפירא, here applied to the judge, is often used in the Talmud to denote a trained speaker, and hence need not be of ecclesiastical significance in this place,⁴⁶ though Lowe believes that we have here an error, and that the correct reading would be a transliteration of ἐπίσκοπος.⁴⁷ Of course the judge could have been a bishop.

The saying of the judge, "From the day that ye were exiled from your land," must refer to the confiscation of Jewish property in 72 A.D. R. Gamliel would then have been but a youth; his deportment in the story would indicate as much.

Turning now to the details of the story, Imma Shalom (i.e. mother of Salome⁴⁸), wife of R. Eliezer and sister to Gamliel, appeals to the judge to divide to her her share of the inheritance. Gamliel pleads against the suit, holding that as son he is to inherit all. His appeal to the Mosaic Law is probably based on Num. xxvii.8. But the judge, having received a bribe from the sister, decides in her favor, on the ground that the Old Law has been superseded by the Law of the "Evangelion" (אג'ו'ן אג'ו') which decrees that son and daughter are to inherit alike. The term used to describe the book is one of ridicule: "a worthless thing of a book" or "a book of idolatry".⁴⁹ The term could hardly have been

familiar to a first century Jewish Christian, and must be regarded as a later gloss. Speaking to his own countrymen, the Christian Jew would have used a Jewish term.

The next day Gamliel is successful in having the "sentence" reversed, through the expedient of also bribing the judge. In order to vindicate his change of decision, the judge says, "I have read further in the end of the book, and therein it is written, I am not come to take away from the Law of Moses, neither to add to the Law of Moses am I come: and in it [the Law of Moses] it is written, Where there is a son, a daughter does not inherit."

It is probable that the judge had some written text, since otherwise it would hardly have occurred to him to say he had "read in the book." (1) The book must have been written in Hebrew or Aramaic. (2) Though the term "evangelion" is probably a gloss, its very presence indicates that the original had some equivalent Aramaic or Hebrew term. (3) The final retort by Imma Shalom, "Let your light shine as a lamp," recalls Mt. v.16. The saying, "I am not come to take away aught etc." recalls Mt. v.17. But since the First Gospel probably was not in existence at this time, it cannot be considered the source of these passages.⁵⁰ (4) Herford finds difficulty in the fact that the judge says he found the second passage "toward the end of the book", whereas Mt. v.17 is near the beginning of that Gospel. But a judge who would accept bribes would not hesitate to misrepresent the arrangement of

his book, if he could thereby lessen the onor upon himself: by saying he had found the new word farther on, he would excuse himself for being obliged to reconsider his decision. In any case, no reliance should be placed on this in trying to determine the book's arrangement, since it would be quite possible for the Talmudic writer to err in this (to him) unimportant detail. (5) The saying, "Son and daughter inherit alike," has no parallel in any known Gospel. This is not surprising, since it is of peculiar interest to Jews only, and would not concern Gentile writers. Its presence indicates that the judge's book was interested in the Mosaic Law. (6) As Odgers has pointed out,⁵¹ the first impulse to the writing down of evangelic tradition on the part of Jewish Christians would have been given by the dispersion of the Christian community at Jerusalem, upon the siege of the city in 69-70. Not all the Christians took refuge in Pella;⁵² they were dispersed in many parts of Palestine, and could easily have carried their tradition to Jabneh, where the present incident probably occurred.

The book was, then, a Gospel. It was written in Aramaic or Hebrew. It was used by a Jewish Christian who was sufficiently regarded by other Jews to be appealed to in a suit,⁵³ and who is therefore the less probably to be associated with the extremer Jewish Christian sect(s). It contained material reminiscent of sections of the Sermon on the Mount, but differing from the latter in detail. It had a Jewish

cast to it. This quality is indicated in particular by its reference to peculiar elements in the Law, and by its insistence that the Law is not to be abridged or expanded. It was a book which could well have been carried to different parts of Palestine. There is only one known book which fits all of these qualifications, and that is the Gospel according to the Hebrews.

90. ברא וברתא כהדא ירחון :

It is likely that the complete saying was, "Ye have heard it said, Where there is a son, a daughter does not inherit. But I say unto you that a son and a daughter shall inherit together." The judge's citation of Num. xxvii.8 is not exact, but could well have been taken from the Gospel. The inconsistency between this and 91 is no greater than that between Mt. v.18-19 and v.21-48.

91. לא למיפתח סן אורייתא דסשה אחיתי ולא
לאוכפי על אורייתא דסשה אחיתי :

The retort of Imma Shalom, "Let your light shine as a lamp," is so apt that it could hardly have been invented, without knowledge of the words of Jesus. By quoting them, she convicted the Christian out of his own law, as well as reminding him of the bribe he had accepted. It is therefore possible that these words also should be allowed to the Gospel.

B. A. Zar. 17a: אמר לי כך ליסדני ישו הנוצרי מאתני
 וזנה קבצה וקר אחני וזנה ישונו מסקום המנופה באו למקום המנופה
 ילכו:

The circumstances attending the quotation of this saying were as follows:⁵⁴ R. Eliezer lived at the end of the first and the beginning of the second centuries. In his later years he sojourned in Caesarea. It was probably while there that he was arrested on the charge of Minuth, i.e. of being a Christian. Eusebius describes,⁵⁵ on the authority of Hegesippus, a persecution of Palestinian Christians which took place about 109 A.D., and it is probable that the arrest and trial of Eliezer occurred at that time. Eliezer was mortified at the very idea of being called a Christian; in his effort to recall what might have led to such a circumstance, he remembered a conversation with a Jewish Christian, who had given him the above interpretation of Deut. xxiii.18 and Mic. i.7. Since he had been pleased by this interpretation which had come from Jesus of Nazareth, R. Eliezer assumed that this was what had caused his arrest. It appears, therefore, that the conversation with the Christian must have occurred not long before the arrest.⁵⁶

The saying is introduced by the Christian in the words, "Thus hath Jesus of Nazareth taught me." No person living in or near 109 could, of course, have had personal conversation with Jesus, so that the introduction can only mean, "This I learned from the teachings of Jesus of Nazareth."

The saying is thoroughly Jewish and rabbinic, and hence pleased the Rabbi. This very quality supports the authenticity of the words, since they could hardly have been preserved among Christians if spurious.

The evidence is not decisive either for acceptance or for rejection of the saying as part of the Hebrew Gospel. It is probably genuine. It is cited at a time when written tradition must largely have replaced oral. The incident of the citation probably occurred in Caesarea. The content is wholly Jewish, and is an interpretation of the Law which would be entirely consistent, so far as we know, with GH. Coupled with the fact that the Talmud does surely preserve traces of GH, these considerations are in favor of such assignment. On the other hand, the saying is preserved in a different part of the Talmud from the others which have been noted. There is nothing similar to it in any known Gospel, so that we are without sure criteria of style or content. And it is not actually impossible that the preservation was through oral tradition, though this is not likely.

The passage will be included, but in the final text will be marked as doubtful.

92. סאתנן זונה קבצה ועד אהנן זונה ישובו
ססקום המנופה באו לסקום המנופה ילכו:

New Testament Textual Variants. We have in these studies remarked over and again the condition that an alternative title for GH was $\kappa\alpha\tau\grave{\alpha}\ \mu\alpha\tau\epsilon\chi\alpha\iota\omicron\nu$, given to the

Gospel by the early fathers but never, apparently, by its users. This double phenomenon can seemingly be explained only on the hypothesis that, while the Gospel had a framework similar to Matthew's, it was not in fact Matthean. This theory has been supported by analysis of the GH text. Again, the presence of a large quantity of "new" material, together with the fact that most if not all of the "canonical" material is Proto-Lukan, indicates that similar sources must have underlain both GH and Proto-Luke. Furthermore, it is altogether probable that Luke himself suppressed or modified any predominant Jewishness which characterized the source-material that he used. Taken together, these considerations lead to two conclusions:

(1) It is probable that GH contained a large quantity of L material; though, lacking direct evidence in the particular case, it is unsafe to assign an arbitrary L passage thereto.

(2) If we can discover original L material of a specifically Jewish quality, and if such material appears to have been eventually discarded by Luke, perhaps because of its meagre value to Gentiles, then it is still more probable that such material subsisted also in GH.

Codex Bezae, after Lk. vi.4: τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ
 θεαυρίμενός τινα ἐργαζόμενον τῷ πρᾶτῳ εἶπεν αὐτῷ· "Ἄνθρωπε,
 εἰ μὲν οἶδας τί ποιῇς, μυχῆριος εἶ· εἰ δὲ μὴ οἶδας,
 ἐπιτιμάρητος καὶ πρᾶτῃς εἶ τοῦ νόμου.

Regarding the problem of Codex Bezae, the most

important phase concerns the fact that nearly all of its significant variants from the standard text occur in Luke and Acts. The best explanation of the phenomena yet advanced is probably that of Blass, who in a series of monographs⁵⁷ has argued that Luke, like other ancient authors, reedited his works, and that the Western text, most prominently represented in D, gives the Church edition of the Gospel and the first draft of Acts, or vice versa. That Luke did probably issue two Gospels, or two editions of the same Gospel, is indicated by the recent investigations of Streeter. It is accordingly entirely possible that in D we have representations of that edition of Luke which did not find its way into the canon.

As to the present passage, a number of significant points are to be noted. In the first place, the passage follows immediately upon the Lukan account of the man with a withered arm. We have seen reason to believe that in the present Third Gospel the latter story is a conflation of originally separate Markan and Proto-Lukan versions.⁵⁸ This incident was told in GH, where probably the narrative was closer to Proto-Luke than to Mark. The context of the Bezae reading is therefore a GH context.

Second, we again notice a peculiar insistence on adherence to the Mosaic Law. The word ἐπικατάρατος, "yet more accursed", is very strong. Its implication is quite in harmony with concepts apparent in the Jewish Gospel, but it could hardly appeal to upholders of Gentile Christianity. The eventual discarding of the narrative because of this

strong legalism is just what we should expect from Luke, whereas its presence in D is not accounted for by the hypothesis of later insertion: it is not the sort of thing that would be inserted in a Gentile Gospel without good evidence.

In addition to ἐπιεικὴς we have to notice two other expressions. The first is ἀρχαίτης τοῦ νόμου, which does not appear in any canonical Gospel, but is found in Rom. ii.25,27 and James ii.11. It also gives the story a strong Jewish cast. The other expression is the vocative, ἄνδρες, an unusual mode of address. In the canonical Gospels it is found only in Luke: once on the lips of Jesus, v.20, and twice in the mouth of Peter, xxi.58,60, both of the latter being in the incident of Peter's Denial. The only other instance of this expression in a Gospel is GH's account of the Two Rich Men.⁵⁹ Hence of the four known uses of the expression in Gospels, three are found in narratives subsisting in or parallel to GH, and the fourth is in that canonical Gospel which is closest to GH.

In summary, the D passage is of a strong Jewish cast, both in its content and in its peculiar expressions. It is quite probable that it represents L material which was discarded by Luke because of its Jewishness. Its context is known to have stood in GH. Like GH it shows peculiar insistence upon the validity of the Mosaic Law. It contains expressions which would be characteristic of the Hebrew Gospel. While these considerations do not prove that the section appeared in GH, they indicate that the source of the

passage is probably to be identified with a source underlying GH. But being from such a source, and being entirely consonant with the view-point and style of GH, the passage probably would have been included by the compiler of that Gospel.

93. τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ θεατᾶμενός τινα ἐργαζόμενον
τῷ σαββάτῳ εἶπεν αὐτῷ· Ἄνθρωπε, εἰ μὲν οἶδας
τί ποιεῖς, μισθίσιος εἶ· εἰ δὲ μὴ οἶδας,
ἐπιχειρήσεις καὶ προαβίτης εἶ τοῦ νόμου.

Codex Bezae, after Mt. xx.28: Ὑμεῖς δὲ ζητεῖτε ἐκ
μικροῦ αὐξῆται καὶ ἐκ μείζονος ἑλαττον εἶναι. εἰσερχόμενοι
δὲ καὶ προακληθέντες βειπνῆσαι, μὴ ἀνακλείνεσθαι εἰς τοὺς
ἐξέχοντας τόπους, μήποτε ἐνδοξότερος σου ἐπέλθῃ, καὶ προτελὼν
ὁ βειπνοκλήτωρ εἴπῃ σοι· ἔτι κἄτῳ χάσει, καὶ καταισχυνθήσῃ.
ἂν δὲ ἀναπέσης εἰς τὸν ἥττονα τόπον καὶ ἐπέλθῃ σου ἥττων,
ἔρεῖ σοι ὁ βειπνοκλήτωρ· σύνναγε ἔτι ἄνω, καὶ ἔσται σοι τοῦτο
χρήσιμον.

Curetonian Syriac, *ibid.*: Vos autem quaerite de
pusillo crescere, nec de maiore minores esse. Intrantes
autem et rogati ad cenam nolite recumbere in locis eminent-
ioribus, ne forte clarior te superveniat qui ad cenam vocavit
te et dicat tibi, Deorsum accede, et confundaris in conspectu
discumbentium. Si autem in loco inferiori recubueris, et
supervenerit humilior te, dicet tibi qui te ad cenam vocavit,
Accede adhuc superius, et tunc erit tibi gloriam coram
discumbentibus.

A number of other variants of the passage occurs
at the same point in Old Latin MSS. The account is parallel
to Lk. xiv.8-11, but in none of the variants is it close
enough to Luke to be regarded as an interpolation from that
Gospel.

quaerite/zeteite. The Greek may or may not be
imperative. Most of the Old Latin versions have quaeritis.

Nec de maiore etc. Most MSS omit nec. This reading is preferable, as being the more difficult one.

Nicholson assigns the passage to GH on the following grounds:⁶⁰ (1) It is found in some texts of Matthew. (2) It appears in MSS which elsewhere seem to show connection with GH. (3) It has a Lukan counterpart.

But (1) presence in a Matthean context is far from constituting evidence that a passage stood in GH; indeed, without other evidence, this fact is unfavorable to assignment to that Gospel. (2) The criterion, that GH passages are to be sought amongst Lukan variants,⁶¹ is not complied with, since the Lukan parallel to this story is very different from it. (3) This is not the only instance where Nicholson assigns a passage to GH mainly on the ground that it appears in D and the Curetonian Syriac; yet nowhere in his discussion does he tell why he connects particular MSS with the Hebrew Gospel. (4) There is no identifiable quality of style, view-point or content to connect this passage with GH; indeed, the only racial evidence at all is in the word recumbere, which points to non-Jewish authorship, since Jews did not recline at table.⁶² There is therefore no sufficient justification for assigning this passage to the Hebrew Gospel.

Codex Sangermanensis, after Lk. xxiii.48: . . . dicentes: Vae nobis, quae facta sunt hodie propter peccata nostra; appropinquavit enim desolatio Hierusalem.

Curetonian Syriac, *ibid.*:⁶³ . . . et dicentes: Vae nobis, quae facta sunt; vae nobis propter peccata nostra.

In the Syriac Doctrine of Addeus the Apostle we read:⁶⁴ "For behold, unless they who crucified him had known that he was the Son of God, they would not have proclaimed the desolation of their city, nor would they have divulged the affliction of their soul in crying, Woe!" This work is probably to be dated not later than the third century.

The situation here is entirely different from that of the passage last considered. (1) The variant is Lukan. (2) It is characterized by a definite Jewishness, particularly if the reading of Sangermanensis is the correct one. (3) One GH passage has already been reconstructed on the basis of a reading from Sangermanensis.⁶⁵ (4) The passage otherwise accords with what we know of GH's Crucifixion account, viz. that the latter was Lukan, and that it represented the Jews as being converted by the events of Jesus' execution.⁶⁶ (5) It is clear that Sangermanensis, the Curetonian and the Doctrine of Addeus are all indebted to some evangelic record of date not later than the second century. (6) The author of the Doctrine of Addeus would be far more likely to draw his tradition from native than from foreign sources. The belief that this passage stood in GH is therefore justified.

The text of Sangermanensis is followed.

94. Et omnis turba eorum qui simul
aderant ad spectaculum istud, et videbant
quæ fiebant, percutientes pectora sua
revertebantur, dicentes: Vae nobis, quæ
facta sunt hodie propter peccata nostra;
appropinquavit enim desolatio Hierusalem.

The Diatessaron of Tatian. Tatian's Diatessaron stands to be considered in the present study because of two notable facts:

(1) Epiphanius,⁶⁷ writing of certain Syrian Christians who denied the human generation of Jesus, says:
 λέγεται δὲ τὸ διὰ τεσσάρων εὐαγγέλιον ὑπ' αὐτοῦ [Tatian] γαγενῆσθαι, ὅπερ κατὰ ἑβραίους τινὰς καλεῖται.

(2) Among certain ancient writers Tatian's work was called not Diatessaron but Diapente - "through five."^{67a}

Now the Arabic Diatessaron is the only version of this work which we have, and it shows almost no traces of a fifth, extracanonial Gospel. On the other hand, it is virtually certain that the Diatessaron as we now have it is not the same as it was when it left the hands of its compiler. For one thing, Theodoret,⁶⁸ who had copies of the book before him, says that it omitted everything in the Gospels which indicated that Jesus was of human descent. But all such passages (except the genealogies) have been restored; so that our present text has evidently been revised by pious hands.

The phenomena above indicated suggests that at one time there must have been some kind of connection between the Diatessaron and GH. As has been previously noted, the title κατὰ ἑβραίους is peculiar; yet it was attached to the whole Diatessaron by some users of the latter. The book was sometimes called Diapente, indicating that some Gospel besides the canonical Four may have entered into its compilation.

Since GH is the only Gospel that ever seriously competed with the Four for an honored place; since Tatian was himself a Syrian, and therefore could have known and honored this Gospel; and since the name of GH was associated with Tatian's work, it seems probable that GH was, in fact, a fifth Gospel entering into the composition. Of course, just as Tatian's omissions have for the most part been supplied by later, more orthodox hands, so also these revisers will inevitably have removed from the book material not found in the Four. Therefore we cannot expect to find in the present Diatessaron much that does not also appear in one or more of the canonical Gospels. But in two passages of this work matter is introduced for which there is no MS evidence in any canonical Gospel. On the basis of the foregoing considerations, the conjecture is offered that these represent material from the Hebrew Gospel.

Arabic Diatessaron xxv.6:⁶⁹ . . . What thinkest thou, Simon? the kings of the earth, from whom do they receive tribute? from their sons, or from strangers? Simon said unto him, From strangers. Jesus said unto him, Therefore the sons are free. Simon said unto him, Yea. Jesus said unto him, Give thou also unto them as if a stranger.

The last two sentences comprise new matter for which there is no MS evidence whatever, and which therefore must be due to other evangelic tradition.

In addition to the general considerations stated above, note: (1) The Matthean passage, xvii.24-27, is mainly of Jewish interest. Yet the present rendering is still more Jewish, for the last sentence seems definitely to set the Jews

apart as the peculiar people. (2) Mt. xvii.24ff. does not appear in our definition of Q.⁷⁰ But that definition is necessarily limited to passages found in both Matthew and Luke. If the present dialogue subsisted in Q, it is the sort of thing Luke would omit. (3) In rhetorical style the present passage, especially with the new addition, is remarkably like two GH fragments already considered, viz. that on Forgiving Seventy Times Seven Times, and that on Lambs among Wolves.⁷¹ There is a dialogue between Jesus and Simon. Jesus speaks. Simon makes a conventional response. The response leads to teaching from Jesus. This peculiar didactic arrangement is, so far as we can tell, used by no other Gospel than GH.

95. And . . . they that received the half-shekel came to Peter, and said, Doth not your teacher pay the half-shekel? He saith, Yea. And when he came into the house, Jesus spake first to him, saying, What thinkest thou, Simon? the kings of the earth, from whom do they receive tribute? from their sons, or from strangers? Simon said unto him, From strangers. Jesus said unto him, Therefore the sons are free. Simon said unto him, Yea. Jesus said unto him, Give thou also unto them as if a stranger.

Mt. xvii.27 is unnecessary; indeed, the last two sentences of the above passage seem to replace it.

Arabic Diatessaron xxxi.33: Jesus said unto him, What wilt thou that I should do unto thee? And the blind man said unto him, My Lord and Master, that thou mayest open my eyes, and I may see thee.

This occurs in the narrative of blind Bartimeus. The concluding clause is beautiful, but not necessarily mystical since the blind man only a moment before has recog-

nized Jesus as Son of David, and would naturally want to see him.

On internal grounds this passage is less certainly to be assigned to GH than was the previous one, partly because its variation from the canonical accounts is less great, and partly because the New Testament version is Markan. Still, there is no MS evidence at all for ascribing the last clause to any Synoptic, so that there is a possible trace here of a variant GH account. If so, the necessarily Markan reconstruction must be regarded as a paraphrase.

In the following restoration the wording is partly Markan, partly Lukan, the attempt being to avoid peculiarities of either Gospel in the recognition that the passage is paraphrastic.

96. And as he went out from Jericho, a certain blind man sat by the way side. And when he heard that it was Jesus of Nazareth, he cried, saying, Jesus, thou son of David, have mercy on me. And many rebuked him, that he should hold his peace. But he cried out the more a great deal, Thou son of David, have mercy on me. And Jesus stood still, and said, Call ye him. And when he was come near, Jesus said unto him, What wilt thou that I should do unto thee? And the blind man said unto him, Rabboni, that thou mayest open my eyes, and I may see thee. And Jesus said unto him, Go thy way; thy faith hath made thee whole. And immediately he received his sight, and followed him.

Gospel of Nicodemus. Harnack⁷² notes the following passages in Hebrew in Recension A of the Acta Pilati, and says that whether or not they belong to GH awaits determination:

i.4: ὁρχωνὴ μεμβρομή βαρουχχαμῶ ἰδοναί.

xi.1: βαδδῶχ ἐρκιδ δουέλ.

xiv.1: τὸ ὄρος τὸ καλούμενον Μαμίλχ.

These passages are rejected on the following grounds:

(1) GH was written in Aramaic, whereas these passages are in Hebrew. Moreover, it is surprisingly bad Hebrew. The passages should have been respectively:

בִּידָן אֶפְקִיד רוּחִי , הוֹשִׁיעָה נָא בְּמַרְוֹמִים בְּרוּךְ הוּא [בָּשֶׁם] אֲדוֹנִי
(Ps. xxx.6), and קָלָם or קָלָם.

(2) In the case of i.4 at least, the author makes a special point of the quotation from Hebrew. The entire paragraph is as follows:⁷³ "Pilate saith unto them: And how cried they in Hebrew? The Jews say unto him: Hosanna membrome barouchamma adonai. Pilate saith unto them: And the Hosanna and the rest, how is it interpreted? The Jews say unto him: Save now, thou that art in the highest: blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord. Pilate saith unto them: If you yourselves bear witness of the words which were said of the children, wherein hath the messenger sinned? and they held their peace." The Hebrew seems to have been prepared by the author for his particular purpose.

Ignatius. Stanton would find a GH passage in certain words of Ignatius'.⁷⁴ After noting that Ignatius' sole citation of words of Jesus is from GH,⁷⁵ he says: "Ignatius makes another reference to the Gospel history which

appears to have a legendary character.⁷⁶ Speaking of the star whereby Christ was manifested, he says that it outshone all the other stars, and that all the rest of the constellations together with the Sun and Moon formed themselves into a chorus about it. This description differs markedly from the simple narrative of St Matthew. It is unlikely that Ignatius is merely giving the rein to his imagination. We may conjecture that he had obtained the idea from the same source, whatever that was, as the words of the risen Christ which have just been discussed." It is true that GH had an account of the Star, and that it tends to emphasize stars and starry light. But Stanton's argument amounts to assuming that Ignatius knew only one source of evangelic tradition because he quotes only one. This passage is altogether too fantastic to allow assignment to GH. Against Stanton we may say that Ignatius is "giving the rein to his imagination."

Acts. The saying of Acts xx.35, "It is more blessed to give than to receive," is ascribed to GH by Nicholson,⁷⁷ on the grounds (1) that it occurs in a work written by Luke, and (2) that it is quoted by Paul who knew of GH tradition about the appearance to James.⁷⁸ It should be unnecessary to point out in reply to Nicholson (1) that Luke's relationship with GH is in the sources of the Third Gospel, not in Acts, and (2) that it is uncritical to suppose that we have here any Pauline authority: Luke's book is our only documentary evidence.

Thus ends the study which has formed the burden of this and the previous theses; for the next chapter, containing the completed restoration, will include no further critical investigation.

With all of the assignments to GH that have been made, that portion of the Gospel which can be recovered is itself hardly more than a fragment. Yet the surprising thing is that we are able to make the document as complete as is the case. As early as the second chapter of the former study it was found that we already had enough fragments to represent almost every phase of the Synoptic outline, from the cradle to beyond the grave. With the accumulating results of successive chapters the outline has been gradually filled, until with all its gaps the Gospel is now fairly adequate.

There is doubtless a great deal more GH material in the pages of extant literature than it has been possible to identify. In the lines of the Third Gospel, in the citations, allusions and expressions of the early fathers, the eye of the scholar is probably continually reading the Gospel according to the Hebrews without knowing it, because the right label is lacking.

A rose by any other name . . . !

NOTES TO CHAPTER V.

1. C. Cels. vii.
2. Strom. i.24.158.
3. Strom. iv.6.34.
4. Resch, Agrapha, 1st ed., p. 112.
5. Comm. in Is. iii.3.
6. Comm. in Is. i.22, iii.2.
7. Catech. vi.36.
8. Pref. to Apology for Origen.
9. See Eusebius, H. E. vii.7.
10. Strom. i.28, ii.4, vi.10, vii.15.
11. i.28.
12. vii.15.
13. Hom. in I Thess. v.21.
14. ii.51, iii.50, xviii.20.
15. Collat. i.20.
16. Collat. ii.9.
17. Hist. Eccl. iii.16.
18. Resp. ad Quaest. 140.
19. Ad Minervum et Alexandrum; Comm. in Ephes. iv and v.20; Comm. in Philem. 5; Apologia adv. Rufinum i.4.
20. Ad Minervum et Alexandrum.
21. Above, p. 36.
22. Preserved only in Latin.
23. The Gospel according to the Hebrews, p. 150.
24. Though cf. GH fragment 24, "If ye be . . . in my bosom, and do not the will of my Father which is in the heavens, out of my bosom I will cast you away." But the emphasis of this

passage is on obedience to God.

25. V. H. Stanton, The Gospels as Historical Documents, vol. 1, pp. 91ff.

26. Op. cit., pp. 155ff.

27. This is not the place for a detailed argument on these points. An excellent statement of the case may be found in Stanton, *ibid.*

28. Citations, ch. 1.

29. Stanton, *ibid.*, believes that this term was a general one, applied by Justin to all the reliable Gospels.

30. GH fragment 3c. See Citations, pp. 38ff.; also above, pp. 5, 47ff.

31. See Eusebius, H. E. iv.22.5.

32. H. E. iv.8.1.

33. Quis Dives 40.

34. See Athanasius, Quæst. 3.

35. Leunclavius, Jus Graeco-Romanum 337.

36. Perhaps more than one.

37. Citations, chs. ii, iii.

38. E.g., the anonymous author of By an Unknown Disciple quotes the saying on the title-page of her book, attributing it to the Gospel according to the Hebrews.

39. See Citations, ch. 2, discussion of fragments 1 and 2.

40. Strom. v.10.

41. Since it is new but not unorthodox; this accords with the argument and method pursued above, ch. ii.

42. GH fragment 20. See Citations, pp. 78ff.

43. R. T. Herford, Christianity in Talmud and Midrash, p. 147.

44. Op. cit., p. 146n.

45. Op. cit., p. 148.

46. So Herford, *ibid.*

47. See Nicholson, op. cit., p. 146.
48. Herford, op. cit., p. 149n.
49. See Jewish Encyclopedia, art. entitled "Gospels."
50. Herford, op. cit., p. 152n., says, "Matt. v. 15, 16, and 17 seem to underlie the story." Yet only two pages before he has agreed that Matthew was not in existence at this time.
51. J. E. Odgers, art. in Jewish Quarterly Review, 1891, p. 16.
52. Citations, ch. i.
53. That the suit may have been a fake is beside the point, since it was possible to appear reasonable in taking it to the Christian judge. But would Gamliel and his sister have gone to the expense of purchasing for the judge a golden lamp and a Libyan ass, merely to play him a trick?
54. See Herford, op. cit., pp. 140ff.
55. H. E. iii.32.
56. So H. Grätz, Geschichte der Juden, vol. iv, pp. 47f.
57. SK., 1894, pp. 86-119; NKZ, 1895, pp. 712f.; Hermathena, vol. ix, pp. 121f., 291f.; SK., 1896, pp. 436f.; 1898, pp. 539f.; 1900, pp. 5f.
58. Citations, pp. 49ff.
59. GH fragment 34. See Citations, pp. 96ff.
60. Op. cit., p. 152.
61. Above, p. 163.
62. That Luke also used this expression is probably due to his altering Jewish sources in Gentile directions, and hence does not serve to connect the present passage with his source.
63. Following Tischendorff's rendering.
64. Quoted by Nicholson, op. cit., p. 160.
65. GH fragment 3c. See note 30 above.
66. GH fragment 38. See Citations, pp. 108f.
67. Haer. xlvi.1.

- 67a. See J. Hamlyn Hill, The Earliest Life of Christ, pp. 17f.
68. Adv. Haer. i.20.
69. Following Hamlyn Hill's translation, op. cit.
70. Above, pp. 2f.
71. GH fragments 10, 56. See above, pp. 9f., 75f.
72. Geschichte des altchristlichen Litteratur bis Eusebius, vol. i, p. 10.
73. Following the translation of M. R. James, Apocryphal New Testament, p. 97.
74. Op. cit., p. 15.
75. Ad Smyrn. iii. See GH fragment 19, Citations, pp. 65ff.
76. Ad Ephes. xix.
77. Op. cit., p. 162.
78. GH fragment 18, Citations, pp. 61ff.

VI. THE RESTORED GOSPEL IN ENGLISH.

The following pages contain an English version of the Gospel according to the Hebrews, based upon the results of the preceding studies.

English has been chosen for this reconstruction, for two reasons. Since the various fragments in their original languages have already been exhibited, it is thought more useful here to use a tongue that will be more available to the average student. Furthermore, since the languages of the fragments are four in number - Aramaic, Greek, Latin and English - to use them would be to give the final text a disjointed appearance.

As to the order of the fragments, we are without much guidance. The early fathers thought GH to be the Hebrew Gospel of Matthew, so that it presumably was similar to Matthew in arrangement. This, however, does not mean very much, for only two general types of arrangement are possible: chronological and topical. Still, the example of the First Gospel is our only guide, and to discard it would mean to be without any lead at all. Therefore, GH fragments that have Matthean parallels are placed in the Matthean order. Fragments without Matthean parallels are inserted topically, with L material in the order of the Third Gospel.

The implication has occasionally been noted, that certain incidents must have been narrated in GH for which

there is no textual evidence. When it is obvious that such is the case, a paraphrase of the incident is given. This is indicated by close spacing of the lines. Except in the Infancy sections, all such paraphrases are based on Luke.

With the preceding discussions in hand, it is neither necessary nor desirable to attempt to indicate within the text all the varying degrees of uncertainty that attach to the various passages. Indications in this connection are reduced to two:

(1) Passages whose subsistence in GH is subject to major doubt are placed within double parentheses, (()).

(2) Conjectural emendations are placed within single parentheses, (). These signs are not used for any other purpose.

At the beginning of each paragraph is indicated the number of the GH fragment on which it is based. In the case of a paraphrase, the number indicates the GH fragment that postulates its inclusion.

The Stichometry of Nicephorus allots to this Gospel 2,200 stichs, and to Matthew 2,500 stichs. The English (ARV) version of Matthew contains approximately 22,500 words, wherefore an English version of the complete Gospel according to the Hebrews would contain about 19,800 words. The following reconstruction contains 6,520 words, so that it is about one-third the length of the whole original Gospel.

THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO THE HEBREWS.

20 The book of the generation of Jesus (Christ, the son of David, the son of Abraham). Abraham begat Isaac; and Isaac begat Jacob; and Jacob begat Judah (and his brethren). And Judah begat Perez (and Zerah of Tamar); and Perez begat Hezron; and Hezron begat Aram; and Aram begat Amminadab; and Amminadab begat Nahshon; and Nahshon begat Salmon; and Salmon begat Boaz (of Rahab); and Boaz begat Obed (of Ruth); and Obed begat Jesse; and Jesse begat David (the king). And David begat Nathan; and Nathan begat Mattatha; and Mattatha begat Menna; and Menna begat Melea; and Melea begat Eliakim; and Eliakim begat Jonam; and Jonam begat Joseph; and Joseph begat Judas; and Judas begat Symeon; and Symeon begat Levi; and Levi begat Matthat; and Matthat begat Jorim; and Jorim begat Eliezer; and Eliezer begat Jesus; and Jesus begat Er; and Er begat Elmadam; and Elmadam begat Cosam; and Cosam begat Addi; and Addi begat Melchi; and Melchi begat Neri. And Neri begat Shealtiel; and Shealtiel begat Zerubbabel; and Zerubbabel begat Rhesa; and Rhesa begat Joanan; and Joanan begat Joda; and Joda begat Josech; and Josech begat Semein; and Semein begat Mattathias; and Mattathias begat Maath; and Maath begat Naggai; and Naggai begat Esli; and Esli begat Nahum; and Nahum begat Amos; and Amos begat Mattathias; and Mattathias begat Joseph; and Joseph begat Jannai; and Jannai begat Melchi; and Melchi begat Levi; and Levi begat Heli. ¹And

Hele begat Joseph the husband of Mary, of whom was born Jesus (who is called Messiah).

46 1 . . . It came to pass in the days of Herod, the king of the Jews, behold magi from the east came to Jerusalem, saying, Where is he that is born king of the Jews? for we have seen his star in the east, and are come to worship him. But when Herod the king heard it, he was troubled, and all Jerusalem with him: and gathering together all the chief priests and scribes of the people, he inquired of them where Messiah was to be born. And they said, In Bethlehem of Judah; for thus it is written through the prophet: And thou, Bethlehem, land of Judah, art in no wise least among the princes of Judah; for out of thee shall come forth a leader who shall rule my people Israel.

1 Then Herod privily called the magi, and learned of them exactly what time the star appeared. And he sent them to Bethlehem, and said, Go and search out exactly concerning the young child; and when ye have found him, bring me word, that I also may come and worship him. And they, having heard the king, went their way; and behold, the star, which they saw in the east, went before them, till it came and stood over where the young child was. And when they saw the star, they rejoiced with exceeding great joy. And they came into the house and saw the young child with Mary his mother, and they fell down and worshipped him; and opening their treasures, they offered unto him gifts, gold and frankincense and myrrh. And . . . they departed . . . into their own country.

2a (. . . Joseph) took the boy and his mother by night and withdrew into Egypt; and he was there until the death of Herod; that it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the Lord through the prophet, saying: Out of Egypt have I called my Son.

2b . . . He took the boy and his mother and came into the land of Israel. But hearing that Archelaus was reigning in Judah in place of his father Herod, he was afraid to go thither: and . . . he withdrew into the parts of Galilee. And coming, he dwelt in the city of Nazareth: that it might be fulfilled which was spoken through the prophets, that he should be called a Nazarene.

42 . . . It came to pass in those days that John came, baptizing the baptism of repentance in the Jordan river. He was of the lineage of Aaron the priest, child of Zacharias and Elisabeth. And there went out to him Pharisees, and were baptized, and all Jerusalem. And John had raiment of camel's hair, and a leathern girdle about his loins. And his food was wild honey. . .

3a (And) behold, the mother of the Lord and his brethren said unto him, John the Baptist baptizeth unto the remission of sins; let us go and be baptized of him. But he said unto them, What have I sinned, that I should go and be baptized of him? unless perchance this very thing which I have said is ignorance.

3b ((. . . Jesus was compelled against his will, by Mary his mother, to accept the baptism of John.))

43 . . . (And) when the people were baptized, Jesus also came, and was baptized by John.

3c (And) when he was baptized, a great light shone from the water, in such wise that all were affrighted who were gathered together (there).

4 And it came to pass when the Lord came up from the water, there descended the whole fount of the Holy Spirit, and rested upon him, and said unto him, My Son, in all the prophets was I awaiting thee, that thou shouldst come, and I might rest in thee. For thou art my rest, thou art my first-begotten Son, that reignest for ever. . . . That it might be fulfilled which was spoken through the prophet, (saying,) There shall descend upon him the whole fount of the Holy Spirit.

5 (. . . Jesus saith,) Just now my mother the Holy Spirit took me up by one of mine hairs, and bore me away unto the great mountain Tabor.

22 . . . Then the devil taketh him in Jerusalem. And he set him upon the pinnacle of the Temple, and said unto him, If thou art the Son of God, cast thyself down. For it is written that He shall give his angels charge concerning thee, and, They shall bear thee up in their arms, lest haply thou dash thy foot against a stone. Jesus said unto him, Again it is written, Thou shalt not make trial of the Lord thy God.

40 . . . And he was thirty years of age.

44 . . . And as he was passing along by the lake of Galilee he called John and James the sons of Zebedee, and Simon and Andrew (and Thaddeus and Simon the Zealot and Judas the Iscariot. . . . And they followed him).

45 . . . And as Jesus passed by from thence, he saw a man sitting at the seat of custom, Matthew by name. And he

said unto him, Follow me. And he rose up, and followed him.

91 ((. . . Let your light shine as a lamp.))

91 . . . I am not come to take away from the Law of Moses, neither to add to the Law of Moses am I come.

23 . . . Ye have heard that it was said to them of old time, Thou shalt not kill, and Whosoever killeth shall be in danger of the judgment. But I say unto you that whosoever shall hate his brother shall be in danger of the judgment. And whosoever shall say to his brother, Raka, shall be in danger of the Sanhedrin. And whosoever shall say, Thou fool, shall be in danger unto the Gehenna of fire.

6 (. . . It is among the greatest sins) if a man shall have grieved the spirit of his brother.

7 (. . . The Lord said unto his disciples,) And never be ye joyful, save when ye behold your brother with love.

90 (. . . Ye have heard it said, Where there is a son, a daughter doth not inherit. But I say unto you that) a son and a daughter shall inherit together.

63 . . . There is no grace to you, if ye love them that love you, but there is grace to you, if ye love your enemies, and them that hate you.

64 . . . The Father is more ready to give than are ye to ask.

8 . . . After this manner therefore pray ye: Our Father, who art in Heaven, hallowed be thy name. Thy Kingdom come: thy will be done, as in Heaven, so in earth. Our bread

of the morrow give us this day. And forgive us our debts, even as we have forgiven our debtors. And lead us not into temptation: but deliver us from evil.

57 (. . . And the Lord said,) No servant can serve two masters: for either he will hate the one and love the other, or he will cleave to the one and despise the other. Ye can not serve God and Mammon.

80 (. . . And Jesus said unto his disciples,) Seek ye the great things, and the small shall be added unto you; and seek ye the heavenly things, and the earthly shall be added unto you.

73 . . . And why beholdest thou the mote that is in the eye of thy brother, but considerest not the beam that is in thine own eye? Or how canst thou say to thy brother, Brother, let me cast out the mote that is in thine eye: but thou thyself seest not the beam that is in thine eye? Thou hypocrite, cast out first the beam from thine eye, and then shalt thou see clearly to cast out the mote that is in the eye of thy brother.

27 . . . Let not him that seeketh cease (from seeking) until he hath found: and when he hath found, he shall be amazed, and when he hath been amazed he shall reign, and when he hath reigned, he shall rest.

72 . . . (His disciples) examine him (and) say, How shall we fast, (and how) shall we (pray) and how . . . and what shall we keep (of the traditions)? Jesus saith, . . .

to the truth . . . (that which is) hidden . . . Blessed is he that . . . he is . . .

55 Not every one that saith unto me, Lord, Lord, shall be saved, but he that doeth righteousness.

24 . . . If ye be (gathered together with me) in my bosom, and do not the will of my Father which is in the Heavens, out of my bosom I will cast you away: and I will say unto you, Depart from me; I know not whence ye are, all ye workers of iniquity.

78 . . . ²A city built upon the top of a mountain can not be hid, and a house established upon a high rock can not fall.

81 . . . Become ye proved bankers: prove all things, hold fast that which is good.

50 ((. . . I came not to call the righteous, but sinners.))

41 . . . (And) he entered into the house of Simon, who is called Peter. (And he called unto him his twelve disciples.) And opening his mouth, he said, You I wish to be twelve apostles as a witness unto Israel.

32 . . . For I was not sent but unto the lost sheep of the house of Israel.

25 56 . . . Behold I send you forth as lambs in the midst of wolves: be ye therefore wise more than serpents, and harmless as the doves. And Peter answering said unto him, But if the wolves destroy the lambs? Jesus said to Peter,

Let not the lambs fear the wolves after they are dead. And fear ye not them that kill you, and can do nothing to you: but fear ye Him that, after your death, hath power over soul and body, to cast them into the Gehenna of fire.

71 (And Peter answering said unto him, Lord, how sayest thou, They that kill us and can do nothing unto us? Jesus said, What I say thou knowest not now, but thou shalt know hereafter. For) every thing that is not before thine eyes, and that which is hidden from thee, shall be revealed unto thee: for there is nothing hid that shall not be made manifest, or buried that shall not be raised up.

68 (. . . But how say) they that draw us (unto the judgment seats, that) the Kingdom (is) in Heaven? (Can) the birds of the heaven (know) what is under the earth? (or) the fishes of the sea (what is in the heaven? So are) they that draw you. And the Kingdom (of the Heavens) is in your midst.

69 (. . . Jesus saith, Whosoever) knoweth this shall find (the Kingdom. For as) ye know yourselves, (. . . so also) shall ye be (known) of the (Father in Heaven. But if) ye know (not) yourselves, (ye shall not partake of the Kingdom,) and ye are (weak).

49 . . . A disciple is not above his teacher, nor a servant above his lord:

49 enough for a disciple to be as his teacher, (and a servant as his lord).

52 . . . And he said also, Whoso confesseth me in the presence of men, him will I confess in the presence of my

Father:

52 and whoso denieth me in the presence of men, him
will I deny in the presence of my Father.

26 . . . ³I choose for myself them that are well
pleasing: the well pleasing are they whom my Father in
Heaven hath given me.

28 . . . And from the days of John the Baptist until
now the Kingdom of the Heavens is ravished, and men of
violence take it by force. (For all the prophets and the Law
prophesied until John.)

75 (. . . Jesus saith,) I stood in the midst of the
world, and in flesh was I seen of them: and I found all men
drunken, and none found I athirst among them: and my soul
grieveth over the sons of men, for they are blind in their
heart, and see not; (poor, and know not) their poverty.

29 . . . In that hour Jesus answered and said, I give
thee thanks O Father, Lord of the Heaven and of the earth,
that thou hast hidden these things from the wise and under-
standing, and hast revealed them unto babes: yea, O Father,
for thus it was well pleasing in thy sight. All things have
been delivered unto me by my Father. And no one knoweth the
Son save the Father; neither doth any one know the Father save
the Son and he to whomsoever the Son willeth to reveal him.

9 . . . ⁴And it came to pass on another sabbath, that
he entered into the synagogue, and taught. And behold, a man
whose hand was withered. And the scribes and the Pharisees
watched, whether he would heal on the sabbath day, that they

might find how to accuse him. But he knew their thoughts, and he said to the man who had the withered hand, Stand up. And he arose, and stood, and besought help thus: I was a mason, seeking a living with my hands; I pray thee, Jesus, that thou restore me to health, lest I shamefully beg for bread. But Jesus said unto them, What man shall there be of you who hath one ox: and if this fall on the sabbath into the ditch, will he not lay hold of it and lift it out? Of how much more value is a man than an ox! Wherefore it is lawful to do good on the sabbath. Then he said unto the man: Stretch forth thine hand. And he stretched it forth, and it was restored, whole as the other. But they were filled with madness; and they communed one with another, what they might do to Jesus.

93 The same day, having beheld a certain man working on the sabbath, he said unto him, Man, if thou knowest what thou doest, blessed art thou; but if thou knowest not, thou art the more accursed, and a transgressor of the Law.

74 (. . . Jesus saith,) Except ye abstain and fast, ye shall in no wise find the Kingdom of God; and except ye keep the sabbath of solemn rest, ye shall not see the Father.

53 . . . And behold a certain man stood up and tempted him, saying, Rabbi, what shall I do that I may inherit eternal life? And he said to him, What is written in the Law? . . . And he answering said, Thou shalt love the Lord thy God out of entire heart and out of entire mind, . . . and thy neighbor as thyself. He said to him, Thou hast

answered aright: this do, and thou shalt live.

30 . . . Then certain of the scribes and Pharisees answered him, saying, Rabbi, we wish to see a sign from thee. But he answering said unto them, An evil and adulterous generation seeketh after a sign. And there shall no sign be given unto it, save the sign of Jonah (the prophet). ⁵For as Jonah was a sign unto the Ninevites, even so shall the Son of man be unto this generation.

60 (. . . And when in the midst of his teaching the Lord was told,) Behold, thy mother and thy brethren stand without, (he answered,) Who are my mother and brethren? And stretching forth his hand toward his disciples, he said, My (mother and) brethren are these, who do the will of my Father.

77 . . . And he came to Nazareth, where he had been brought up. And he entered as his custom was into the synagogue on the sabbath day. And he stood up and taught them, insomuch that they were astonished, and said, Whence hath this man this wisdom, and these mighty works? Is not this the carpenter, the son of Mary, and brother of James, and Joses, and Judas, and Simon? And they were offended in him. And they said unto him, Physician, heal thyself: whatsoever we have heard done at Capernaum, do also here in thine own country.

77 (And he said,) . . . A prophet is not acceptable in his own country, neither doth a physician work cures upon them that know him.

77 And he could there do no mighty work, because of their unbelief.

89 . . . Keep my mysteries for me and for the sons of mine house.

31 54 . . . Then Pharisees and scribes came unto Jesus, saying, Wherefore do thy disciples transgress the tradition of the elders? (for they do not wash their hands before they eat bread.) But he answering said unto them, And wherefore do ye transgress the commandment of God because of your tradition? For Moses said, Thou shalt honor thy father and thy mother, and, Whosoever speaketh ill of father or mother, let him die the death. But ye say, Whosoever shall say to his father of his mother, Korban whereby ye shall be profited by us, he shall in no wise honor his father or his mother. And ye have made void the Law of God because of your tradition. Ye hypocrites! Well did Isaiah prophesy concerning you, saying, This people honoreth me with their lips; but their heart is far from me; but in vain do they worship me, teaching as doctrines the precepts of men.

33 . . . And he asked his disciples, saying, Who do men say that I am? And they said, Some, John the Baptist; others, Elijah; others, Jeremiah, or one of the prophets. He said unto them, But who say ye that I am? And Simon Peter answering said unto him, Thou art the Messiah. And Jesus answering said unto him, Blessed art thou, Simon Bar-Jochanan: for flesh and blood hath not revealed it unto thee, but my Father who is in the Heavens. (Then he strictly charged his disciples that they should tell no man concerning him.)

18 33 39 58 From that time began Jesus to show unto his disciples how that he must go unto Jerusalem, and suffer

many things of the elders and chief priests and scribes, and be killed, and the third day be raised up. And he said unto all, If any man would come after me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross daily, and follow me. For whosoever would save his life shall lose it; but whosoever shall lose his life . . . shall save it.

58 For what is the advantage if a man gain the whole world, but lose his soul? . . .

95 And they come again to Capernaum.

95 . . . And they that received the half-shekel came to Peter, and said, Doth not your teacher pay the half-shekel? He saith, Yea. And when he came into the house, Jesus spake first to him, saying, What thinkest thou, Simon? the kings of the earth, from whom do they receive tribute? from their sons, or from strangers? Simon said unto him, From strangers. Jesus said unto him, Therefore the sons are free. Simon said unto him, Yea. Jesus said unto him, Give thou also unto them as if a stranger.

51 (. . . And he spake unto them this parable, saying,) What man of you having an hundred sheep, if he lose one of them will not leave the ninety and nine in the wilderness, and follow after the lost one until he find it? And having found it, he taketh it up on his shoulders rejoicing, and coming into the house he calleth together his friends and his neighbors, saying unto them, Rejoice with me, for I have found my sheep which was lost. I say unto you that the Son of man came to save that which was lost.

10 . . . If, saith he, thy brother have sinned by a word and have made thee amends, seven times in the day

receive thou him. Simon his disciple said unto him, Seven times in the day? The Lord answered and said unto him, Yea, I say unto thee, until seventy times seven times. For in the prophets also, after that they were anointed by the Holy Spirit, the word of sin was found.

61 (. . . And) being asked by a certain man when his Kingdom would come, the Lord said, When the two shall be one, and that which is without as that which is within, and the male with the female neither male nor female.

34 (. . . And behold, there came unto him two rich men. One of them said unto him, Good Master. But Jesus answered, Call me not good: none is good save One, the Father who is in the Heavens.) The other rich man said unto him, Master, what good thing shall I do, that I may live? He said unto him, Man, do the Law and the prophets. He answered him, I have done them. He said unto him, Go, sell all that which thou dost possess, and distribute it to the poor, and come, follow me. But the rich man began to scratch his head, and it pleased him not. And the Lord said unto him, Wherefore sayest thou, I have done the Law and the prophets? For it is written in the Law, Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself; and behold, many of thy brethren, sons of Abraham, are clothed in rags and perishing for hunger: and thy house is full of good things, and naught at all goeth out of it unto them. And turning about, he said unto Simon his disciple who was sitting by him, Simon Bar-Jochanan, it is easier for a camel to enter

in through the eye of a needle, than for a rich man to enter into the Kingdom of the Heavens.

79 (. . . Jesus saith,) Thou hearest with thine one ear, but the other hast thou closed.

70 (. . . Jesus saith,) A man shall not hesitate . . . to ask . . . concerning the place of the (Kingdom). Ye shall (find) that many (first) shall be (last, and) the last first, and they (shall inherit life).

96 . . . And he entered and was passing through Jericho. . .

96 And as he went out from Jericho, a certain blind man sat by the way side. And when he heard that it was Jesus of Nazareth, he cried, saying, Jesus, thou Son of David, have mercy on me. And many rebuked him, that he should hold his peace. But he cried out the more a great deal, Thou Son of David, have mercy on me. And Jesus stood still, and said, Call ye him. And when he was come near, Jesus said unto him, What wilt thou that I should do unto thee? And the blind man said unto him, Rabboni, that thou mayest open my eyes, and I may see thee. And Jesus said unto him, Go thy way; thy faith hath made thee whole. And immediately he received his sight, and followed him.

11 . . . And it came to pass, when he drew nigh unto Bethphage and Bethany, at the mount that is called Olivet, he sent two of the disciples, saying, Go your way into the village over against you; in which as ye enter ye shall find a colt tied, whereon no man ever yet sat: loose him, and bring him. And if any man ask you, Why do ye loose him? thus shall ye say, The Lord hath need of him. And they that were sent went away, and found even as he had said unto them.

11 And they brought the ass . . . and they set him thereon. And many of the crowd strewed their garments in the way: and others brake branches from the trees, and scattered them in the way. And the multitude that went before, and they that followed, cried, saying, Osanna unto the Son of David: Osanna Barrama! ((And many went before him in the road; and they rejoiced, and praised God for all the things which they saw.))

12 . . . And Jesus entered into the temple, and cast out all them that sold and bought in the temple, and overthrew the tables of the money-changers, and the seats of them that sold the doves; and he saith unto them, It is written, My house shall be called a house of prayer, but ye make it a den of robbers. And they whom he drove out resisted him not: for a certain fiery and starry light shone from his eyes, and the majesty of Godhead gleamed in his face. And they were terrified and put to flight.

13 ((. . . It is confusion, which leadeth unto death, and it is confusion, which leadeth unto life.))

14 . . . Woe unto you, Pharisees! . . .

14 (Therefore also said the Wisdom of God,) Behold, I send unto you prophets, and wise men, and scribes. And some of them ye will kill, and will crucify; and some of them ye will scourge in your synagogues, and will persecute from city to city: that there might come upon you all the righteous blood which hath been poured out over the earth: from the

blood of Abel the just, even to the blood of Zachariah the son of Joiadah, whom ye killed between the temple and the altar.

36 . . . For it is as a man who, about to go away, called his own slaves, and divided unto them his living. And to one he gave five talents, to another two, to another one, to each according to his ability. And he went away. Straightway he that received the five talents went, and devoured his master's substance with harlots and flute-girls. And he that had the two talents invested them, and made other two. And he that received the one went and digged in the earth, and hid his master's talent. And after a long time the master of those slaves returned, and took account with them. And he that received the two talents came and brought other two talents, saying, Lord, thou didst give me two talents: behold, I have made other two talents. His master said unto him, Well done, good and faithful slave! thou hast been faithful over a few things, I will set thee over many things: enter thou into the joy of thy Lord. And he that had received the one talent came and said, Lord . . . I went and hid thy talent in the earth. Behold, thou hast thine own. But his master answering said unto him, (Thou wicked and slothful slave,) wherefore didst thou not put my money with the bankers, that I upon my return might have received back mine own with interest? . . . And he that received the five talents, and that lived riotously, came also. . . His lord answering said unto him,

Thou wicked and slothful servant! . . . And he said unto them that stood by, Cast the unprofitable servant into the prison. . .

59 If ye did not guard that which is small, who will give unto you that which is great? for I say unto you that he that is faithful in a few things is faithful also in many things.

85 ((. . . And the scribes and the Pharisees came unto him, saying: . . . And Jesus answering said unto them,

85 Wherefore do ye not perceive the reasonableness of the Scriptures? . . .))

92 ((. . . For the hire of an harlot hath she gathered them, and unto the hire of an harlot shall they return. . . From the place of filth they come, and unto the place of filth shall they go.))

35 . . . A certain woman was taken in sins, against whom all bore witness, that she was deserving of death. They brought her to Jesus to see what he would command, that they might malign him. Jesus made answer and said, Come, ye who are without sin, cast stones and stone her to death. But he himself bowing down, was writing with his finger in the earth, to declare their sins, and they were seeing their several sins on the stones. And filled with shame they departed, and no one remained save only the woman: (. . . according as it is written in the prophet, And they left thee writing in the earth). Jesus saith (unto the woman), Go in peace, and present the offering for sins, as in the Law is written.

87 . . . The evil one is the tempter.
 88 . . . Give not a pretext to the evil one.
 82 . . . In whatsoever I find you, in that will I also
 judge you.

83 . . . There will be false messiahs, false prophets,
 false apostles, schisms, heresies, lovings of rule.

47 . . . His disciples said unto him, Where wilt thou
 that we make ready for thee to eat the Passover?

47 48 18 And he said unto them, Behold, when ye are intered
 into the city, there shall meet you a man bearing a pitcher
 of water; follow him into the house whereinto he goeth. And
 ye shall say unto the master of the house, The Rabbi saith
 unto thee, Where is the guest-chamber, where I shall eat the
 Passover with my disciples? And he will show you a large upper
 room furnished: there make ready. And they went and found as
 he had said unto them: and they made ready the Passover. And
 when the hour was come, he sat down, and the apostles. And
 James, the brother of the Lord, was there.

48 And he said unto them, With desire have I desired
 to eat this Passover with you before I suffer.

18 47 48 And as they were eating, he took bread, and when he
 had given thanks he brake it, and gave to them saying, This
 is my body which is given for you: this do in remembrance of
 me. And the cup in like manner after supper, saying, This
 cup is the new testament in my blood, even that which is
 poured out for you. Verily I say unto you, I will not drink
 henceforth of this fruit of the vine, until that day when I
 drink it anew with you in my Father's Kingdom.

18 Then James . . . sware that he would not eat bread
 from that hour, until he should see the Lord risen again from
 sleep. . .

37 (Jesus saith,) Simon, Simon, behold Satan obtained
 you by asking, that he might sift you as wheat: but I made
 supplication for thee, that thy faith fail not: and do thou,
 when once thou hast turned again, establish thy brethren. And
 he said unto him, Lord, with thee I am ready to go both to
 prison and to death. And he said, I tell thee, Peter, the

cock shall not crow this day, until thou shalt thrice deny that thou knowest me.

86 . . . I am he concerning whom Moses prophesied, saying, A prophet will the Lord our God raise up unto you from among your brethren, like unto me: him hear ye in all things, for whosoever heareth not that prophet shall die.

62 . . . Woe unto him on whose account my name is blasphemed.

18 . . . And they went out . . . to the garden which is called Gethsemane. . . And behold, a multitude, and he that was called Judas, one of the twelve, went before them; and he drew near unto Jesus to kiss him. But Jesus said unto him, Judas, betrayest thou me with a kiss? Simon Peter therefore having a sword drew it, and struck the high priest's servant, and cut off his right ear. Now the servant's name was Malchus. Jesus therefore said unto Peter, Put up the sword into its sheath. . .

37 And they seized him, and led him away, and brought him into the high priest's house. But Peter followed afar off. And when they had kindled a fire in the midst of the court, and had sat down together, Peter sat in the midst of them.

37 And a maid came unto him, saying, Thou also wast with Jesus the Nazarene. But he denied before them all, saying, I know not what thou sayest. And when he was gone out into the porch, another maid saw him, and saith unto them that were there, This man also was with Jesus of Nazareth. And again he denied with an oath, I know not the man. And after a little while they that stood by came and said to Peter, Of a truth thou also art one of them; for thy speech maketh thee known. And he denied, and swore, and cursed, (saying,) I know not the man. And immediately the cock crew. And Peter remembered the word which Jesus had said, Before

the cock crow, thou shalt thrice deny me. And he went out, and wept bitterly.

16 37 Now when morning was come, all the chief priests and the elders of the people took counsel against Jesus to put him to death: and they bound him, and led him away, and delivered him up to Pilate the governor. . . . And Pilate said unto them, I find no fault in this man. But they were the more urgent, saying, He stirreth up the people, teaching throughout all Judah, and beginning from Galilee even unto this place. . . . Now at the feast the governor was wont to release unto the multitude one prisoner, whom they would.

16 And they had there a notable prisoner, who was called (Jesus) Barrabban (who for sedition and murder had been condemned). And calling them together, Pilate said, Whom will ye that I release unto you: (Jesus) Barrabban, or Jesus who is called Messiah? But the chief priests and the elders persuaded the people to ask for Barrabban. . . . But the governor answered and said unto them, Which of the two shall I release unto you? And they said, Barrabban. Pilate said to them, What then shall I do with Jesus who is called Messiah? They all said, Let him be crucified. . . . Then he released unto them Barrabban. But the Lord he scourged and delivered to them to be crucified.

38 And when they came to the place which is called Golgotha, there they crucified him. . . . And Jesus said, Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do. At this word of the Lord, many thousands of Jews that stood round about the cross believed.

84 ((. . . (But many that passed by) wagged their heads, saying, Let him that raised the dead deliver himself.

He called himself the Son of God: let him come down and walk about; let God save him.))

17 . . . But Jesus, crying with a loud voice, gave up his spirit. And behold, the lintel of the Temple, of infinite size, was broken and divided . . . that it might be fulfilled which was spoken through the prophet: The foundations of the threshold shook at the voice of him that cried.

94 . . . And all the multitudes of them that came together to this spectacle, when they saw the things which happened, returned, smiting their breasts and saying, Woe unto us, for these things have come to pass today because of our sins; and the desolation of Jerusalem draweth nigh!

18 39 94 . . . And behold, a man named Joseph, who was a councillor, a good and righteous man, of Arimathea . . . went to Pilate, and asked for the body of Jesus. And he took it down, and wrapped it in a linen cloth, and laid him in a tomb.

39 . . . And on the morrow, which is the day after the Preparation, the chief priests and the Pharisees were gathered together unto Pilate, saying, Lord, we remember that that deceiver said while he was yet living, After three days I will rise again. Command therefore that the sepulchre be made sure until the third day, lest haply his disciples come and steal him away, and say unto the people, He is risen from the dead: and the last error will be worse than the first. Pilate said unto them, Ye have a guard: go make it sure, as ye know. And he delivered unto them armed men, that they should sit over against the tomb, and guard it day and night.

18 . . . And the servant of the high priest was among them that were set to guard the sepulchre.

18 19 . . . And behold, there was a great earthquake; for an angel of the Lord descended from heaven, and came and rolled away the stone, and sat upon it. His appearance was as lightning, and his raiment white as snow: and for fear of him the watchers did quake, and became as dead men. . . And Jesus went forth from the tomb.

18 . . . And when the Lord had given the linen cloth unto the servant of the high priest, he went unto James and appeared to him. . . Bring ye, said the Lord, a table and bread. . . He took the bread, and blessed, and brake, and gave it to James the just, and said unto him, My brother, eat thy bread, for the Son of man is risen from among them that sleep.

19 . . . And he came to Peter and to those who were with Peter. And when (the apostles) thought him to be a spirit, he said unto them, (Why are ye troubled, and why do reasonings arise in your hearts?) Behold, feel me and see, that I am not a bodiless demon. And forthwith they touched him, and believed.

65 . . . And the Lord said, I came to gather together all nations, tribes and tongues.

66 . . . And he was seen of Thomas. . .

67 ((. . . Whosoever heareth these sayings of mine shall not taste of death.))

76 . . . Wheresoever there are two, they are not without God: and where there is one alone, I say, I am with him. Raise the stone, and there thou shalt find me: cleave the wood, and there I am.

ALTERNATIVE READINGS.

(Numbers correspond to superscript numerals within the text of the Gospel.)

1. And Heli begat Joseph; and Joseph, to whom was espoused (the virgin) Mary, begat Jesus (the Messiah).

2. A city set upon the top of a high mountain and established can neither fall nor be hidden.

3. I choose even the good ones, whom my Father in Heaven giveth me.

4. And he entered into their synagogue. And behold a man who had a withered hand: and they asked him, saying, It is lawful to heal on the sabbath? that they might accuse him. But he said unto them, What man shall there be of you who shall have one ox: and if this fall into a ditch on the sabbath day, will he not lay hold of it and lift it out? Of how much more value is a man than an ox! Wherefore it is lawful to do good on the sabbath. (Now this man was a mason, and) he besought help with such words as these: I was a mason, seeking a living with my hands; I pray thee, Jesus, that thou restore me to health, lest I shamefully beg for bread. Then said he to the man, Stretch forth thy hand. And he stretched it forth: and it was restored whole as the other. (But they were filled with madness; and they communed one with another, what they might do to Jesus.)

5. For as Jonah was in the belly of the whale, so shall the Son of man be in the heart of the earth.

APPENDIX.

A. F. Findlay on the Hebrew and Ebionite Gospels.

A. F. Findlay, in his Byways in Early Christian Literature, pp. 33ff., discusses in rather popular style the Gospel of the Ebionites, and the Gospel according to the Hebrews. Since his conclusions diverge very considerably from those of the foregoing studies, a review of his discussion is in order.

Findlay thinks¹ that the title, "according to the Hebrews", either belonged by right to only one work and was erroneously transferred to others, or else that it was a generic designation, applied to writings having little in common beyond their use by Syriac speaking Christians. In particular, he holds that the Gospels used by Clement of Alexandria and by Jerome were different. On these points the reader is referred to our previous discussion.² The ascription of a Gospel to a race rather than to an individual is a phenomenon that appears but twice in all Christian history, viz. in the qualifications, "according to the Hebrews", and "according to the Egyptians". It is hardly conceivable that Clement could have hit upon the former for the Gospel he used, if it had no connection with the important book known to Jerome. In point of fact, despite the fragmentary state of their remains, all of the Gospels bearing this title are demonstrably related, as has been shown in

these pages.

Then Findlay points out³ that the Jewish Christians were divided on two points: adherence to the Old Law, and the nature of the person of Christ. The two divisions, he says, are likely to have been coördinate, the "poorer" view of Christ's person being confined to those who held the Law to be binding on all Christians. This statement is indeed surprising, for it is directly contrary to the facts. The most cursory examination of Epiphanius' quotations from the Gospel of the Ebionites will show that that Gospel, whose view of Christ's person was poorest of all, insisted upon abrogation of the Law.

Next, Findlay says that all of these Gospels were probably generated from the canonical Gospel of Matthew, and he explains this by the consideration that Matthew would be the Gospel most congenial to Jewish Christians. This view has hitherto been held by many scholars, but it is believed that it must be abandoned, as a result of the studies of the present thesis. It has been shown⁴ that Jerome's Gospel was not drawn from Matthew, and that it is most probably to be related to the non-Markan portions of Luke. None of the users of any of these Gospels ever attributed them to Matthew: this was done only by two or three of the Church Fathers. None of the Gospels shows definite Matthean influence, whereas without exception the influence of Luke upon them is strong.

Regarding the Gospel of the Ebionites in

particular,⁵ Findlay holds that this was originally composed in Greek. This, he says,⁶ is proved by the change, in the account of the Baptist's food, from akrides to enkris. Yet Findlay himself notes the peculiar Jewish character of Ebionites,⁷ and he locates the Gospel at Pella beyond the Jordan.⁸ Why a Gospel of Semitic character, for use among first century Jews east of the Jordan, should be written in Greek is difficult to understand. And as has been pointed out,⁹ the supposed verbal change occurs in a place where Epiphanius is demonstrably inaccurate, and in a context that is not certainly a quotation from the Gospel. It therefore constitutes no proof at all. On the other hand, we have seen strong reasons for believing that Ebionites was originally written in Aramaic.

Findlay questions whether these Ebionites ever really called their Gospel "According to the Hebrews". Rather, he thinks it is to be equated with the "Gospel according to the Twelve" - because in Ebionites the twelve apostles are commissioned as "a testimony unto Israel"! He admits that Jerome identified "The Twelve" with Hebrews, but he thinks Jerome was mistaken, the error being due to the fact that "The Twelve" was another Gospel in use among Jewish Christians. Surely this is the most gratuitous of reasoning. Our only information concerning Ebionites comes from Epiphanius. The latter twice states¹⁰ that its users called it "according to the Hebrews", and this is the only title that he says they

gave it. Findlay's reason for equating "The Twelve" with Ebionites would be almost equally useful for identifying the former with any Gospel that was ever written; e.g., in Mt. x.5f. the twelve apostles are sent out to evangelize Israel only. And to find Jerome mistaken in identifying "The Twelve" with Hebrews is to substitute sheer speculation for the only specific evidence that we have.¹¹

It may or may not be true, as Findlay thinks,¹² that Ebionites drew upon canonical Matthew. The mere fact that the former singles out the apostle Matthew for separate notice is not sufficient to indicate this, for (1) it also singles out Peter, and (2) we cannot be sure how early the First Gospel was attributed to Matthew. Except in its account of the Baptism, which itself differs markedly from the narrative in Matthew, Ebionites is linguistically closest not to the First but to the Third Gospel.

Findlay next considers¹³ the Gospel(s) used by Clement of Alexandria, by Origen, and by Jerome. He devotes considerably less space to these than he has to Ebionites.

That the three ancient writers referred to one and the same Gospel is indicated by the following considerations: (1) Their Gospels are all given the same name, "according to the Hebrews". (2) Their Gospels were similar in authority, and in the high esteem in which they were held; Clement, referring to his Gospel,¹⁴ says gégraptai, "it is written"; similarly, Origen¹⁵ says scriptum est. (3) All three were

used by Jewish Christians of orthodox sympathies. (4) Jerome states¹⁶ that Origen used his Gospel. (5) Jerome three times¹⁷ and Origen twice¹⁸ quote the same saying, and each attributes it to the Gospel according to the Hebrews.

(6) The titles "according to the Hebrews" and "according to the Egyptians" seem to be correlative; if so, they could hardly have originated elsewhere than in Alexandria, so that an Aramaic Gospel was probably current in that city. (7) It would be an extraordinary coincidence if any two of these writers, to say nothing of all three, had independently attached so strange a title to distinct Gospels that were yet so nearly alike internally.

Findlay notices most of these considerations,¹⁹ yet he maintains²⁰ that Jerome's Gospel was not the same as Clement's and Origen's. He gives as his reasons the arguments set forth by Schmidtke,²¹ which are five in number:

(1) Schmidtke says that Jerome is an unreliable, and even an untruthful, scholar. These are very strong statements, and should be substantiated by real proof, which Schmidtke does not give. Once more, it is dangerous to throw out the testimony of an ancient writer on purely general grounds, and to substitute therefor a theory based almost entirely on conjecture.

(2) Schmidtke interprets a passage in Eusebius²² as showing that Hegesippus distinguished two Gospels, viz. Hebrews, and some Gospel written in Aramaic. But this is not

a necessary, nor, probably, a correct interpretation of Eusebius' words. A sufficient inference is that the Gospel was written in Aramaic (which was doubtless the case), and that Eusebius did not quite know how to describe its language. Jerome²³ uses a similarly awkward expression: "In evangelio iuxta Hebraeos, quod Chaldaico quidem Syroque sermone, sed Hebraicis literis, scriptum est." Eusebius' words appear to be due to his attempt to reconcile GH's Aramaic language with its "Hebrew" name.

(3) Schmidtke says Ignatius²⁴ cites a passage which is ascribed by Jerome to his Gospel, by Origen to the Preaching of Peter, and of which Eusebius does not know the source. This matter has already been dealt with.²⁵ That Eusebius should not tell the primary source of the passage is not strange, since it is Ignatius whom he is quoting! The Preaching of Peter is mentioned quite often by Clement of Alexandria. It contains very little gospel tradition of any sort. The fact that it existed in Alexandria may show that it derived some of its material from Gospels known in that region.

(4) Eusebius says²⁶ that Hebrews was the only Gospel used by the Ebionites, who rejected Paul, whereas, say Schmidtke and Findlay, Jerome's Nazarenes accepted Paul. Now Eusebius' language in this instance is almost identical with a passage in Ireneus,²⁷ yet Findlay says²⁸ that Ireneus refers not to Hebrews but to Ebionites. We cannot have it both ways. In all probability both Ireneus and Eusebius are referring to

Hebrews, not Ebionites. Still there is no ground for Schmidtke's contention: (1) There is no evidence that Jerome's Nazarenes accepted Pauline Christianity. (2) Even if Paulinism had penetrated there by Jerome's day, this would prove nothing with regard to the eras of Eusebius and Clement, who lived respectively a century and two centuries before Jerome.

(5) Findlay follows Schmidtke in holding that, had Jerome's Gospel been the same as Clement's and Origen's, Theodore of Mopsuestia, an accomplished scholar well acquainted with the literature of the Church, would not have accused Jerome of trying to foist a Fifth Gospel upon the Christian community. Surely this is not a strong argument. As has been shown,²⁹ the Gospel according to the Hebrews never had extensive circulation in the Gentile Church. With the decline of Jewish Christianity it must have fallen into disuse, which would be enhanced by the growing Gentile tendency to canonize the Greek Four. This is quite sufficient to account for Theodore's unacquaintance with the Gospel at the time it was resurrected by Jerome.

Schmidtke identifies the so-called "Alexandrian" Gospel of Clement and Origen with the Gospel of the Ebionites. But, as Findlay points out,³⁰ Origen and Clement regarded their Gospel as orthodox, whereas Ebionites was distinctly heretical.

Finally, Findlay gives almost his whole case away when he says³¹ that the best solution is that these several

works were different and divergent editions of the same Gospel. This has been precisely our contention throughout these studies. It is probable that Ebionites was either an heretical recension of Hebrews, or a Gospel based very largely upon Hebrews; and that the "Alexandrian" Gospel was an early Greek version of GH that had disappeared by the time Jerome went to Caesarea.

It appears therefore that none of Findlay's conclusions, except the last, can be accepted.

NOTES TO APPENDIX.

1. Pp. 33f.
2. Citations, ch. i.
3. Pp. 35ff.
4. Above, ch. i.
5. Pp. 37ff.
6. P. 45.
7. P. 41.
8. P. 37.
9. Above, p. 54. On this whole matter see pp. 52-54.
10. Haer. xxx.3,13.
11. See Jerome, C. Pelag. iii.2. Origen (Hom. i in Lucam) speaks of "the Gospel written according to the Egyptians and the Gospel written according to the Twelve." This pairing is hardly understandable unless "The Twelve" was in fact GH, the Gospel which in Alexandria was often correlated with Egyptians.
12. Pp. 44ff.
13. Pp. 48ff.
14. Strom. ii.9.45.
15. Comm. in Matth. xix.16ff.
16. De Vir. Inl. 2.
17. Comm. in Mich. vii.6; in Is. xl.9ff.; in Ezech. xvi.13.
18. Comm. in Ioh. ii.12; Hom. in Ierem. xv.4.
19. Pp. 53ff.
20. P. 48.
21. Alfred Schmidtke, Neue Fragmente und Untersuchungen zu den judenchristlichen Evangelien, TU iii Reihe vii, 1911.

22. H. E. ii.22.8.
23. C. Pelag. iii.2.
24. Ad Eph. iii.
25. GH fragment 19: Citations, pp. 65f.
26. H. E. iii.27.4.
27. Haer. i.26.2.
28. P. 47.
29. Citations, ch. i.
30. P. 57.
31. P. 56.

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The following list is similar to the one given in the previous thesis, but is somewhat more extended.

For a discussion of some aspects of this bibliography, the reader is referred to the note at the head of the former list, and also to the Preface to this thesis.

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